

SIT Occasional Papers Series

Addressing Intercultural Education, Training & Service

(Available in Print and Electronic Formats)

Study Abroad: Student Essays and Research

Issue Number 3

**WORLD LEARNING
SCHOOL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING
THE EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING
PROJECTS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING**

Winter 2002

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ABOUT THIS SERIES

The *SIT Occasional Papers Series (SIT/OPS)* is dedicated to advancing knowledge, skills, and awareness of theory and practice in the fields of intercultural communication, language education, development, training, and service. The Series presents items of interest to educators, trainers, practitioners, researchers, and students. These include essays, articles, reports of research and evaluations, as well as information about World Learning, SIT, Projects in International Development and Training, The Experiment in International Living and the international federation to which it belongs. This publication is available in print and in an electronic format accessible through the School for International Training Website at www.sit.edu/publications.



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PREFACE

The inaugural issue of the *SIT Occasional Papers Series*, titled “About Our Institution” (Spring 2000), was dedicated to telling the story of World Learning by providing a comprehensive view of this fascinating organization. For many, World Learning is a difficult organization to grasp, given its various divisions and its continually changing nature. In fact, a defining characteristic of the institution has always been its ability to adapt readily in response to changing conditions and needs throughout the world.

World Learning is truly a one-of-a-kind institution. This becomes clear as one learns more about its activities and the principles on which they are based. World Learning will continue to innovate and provide transformational experiences as long as it is responsive to the world’s ever-changing needs in its own creative, dynamic, and interculturally sensitive way, while keeping true to its mission.

This third issue focuses on one aspect of World Learning – its Study Abroad Programs. This unit, administered through the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, has provided academic mobility programs around the globe for over a quarter century – in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Russia, Latin America and the Caribbean region, and in other parts of the world – furthering the institutional mission by providing intercultural academic experiences for college students.

Several general articles introduce the Study Abroad Program, followed by a collection of articles representing a sampling of some of the work accomplished by college undergraduate students participating in Study Abroad Programs. In the last section (Other Items of Interest), a summary of “Study Abroad Activities” provides further information about the range and scope of these activities. Finally, “Selected Publications on Study Abroad” are included to familiarize newcomers to this field with some of the relevant literature of the field. Our hope is that this publication will help the reader learn about the Study Abroad experience and its effect on student participants and the quality of their essays and research papers.

Alvino E. Fantini,
Series Editor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of any publication invariably depends on the good will, help, and support of many individuals. Such is the case in producing this issue of the *SIT Occasional Papers Series*.

First of all, I would like to acknowledge the good will, help, and support of **Dr. James A. Cramer**, President of World Learning. Without his interest and encouragement, this Series would never have gotten off the ground.

In addition, it is important to recognize a number of individuals who played a key role in bringing this issue to life: First of all, **Christopher Deegan**, Director of Area Studies, Study Abroad, who provided the inspiration for this special focus issue on students works; **Rebecca Hovey**, Dean, Study Abroad, and Associate Editor for this issue, for her willingness to be part of this effort (not realizing in advance, I'm sure, the amount of time and work involved) and who, as such, was responsible for compiling the selected articles; **Sue Barnum**, Assistant to the Dean, Study Abroad, who provided considerable administrative assistance to both Rebecca and me throughout this process; **John Sommer**, former Dean, Study Abroad, for his willingness to adapt an earlier article for use in this issue; **Marla Solomon**, SIT Faculty member, **Debra Blake**, Language Coordinator, Language and Culture Center at SIT, and **Jane Buckingham**, Coordinator of Counseling and Disability Support, Department of Student Services, for their role in reviewing the articles; **Shirley Capron** and **Pamela Contakos**, Research Librarians, for their help in researching a variety of often challenging reference questions; **Debra Blake**, Language Coordinator, Language and Culture Center at SIT, and **Jane Buckingham**, for their talents and efforts in performing the tedious task of copyediting; **Martha Raines** and **Gregg Orifici**, Co-Directors, Creative Services, for their comments and guidance; **Patricia Williams**, Graphic Designer, Creative Services, for her talents in layout and formatting; **Changba Yangchin** and **Xiaohua Wei**, graduate students, Masters of Arts in Teaching (MAT) Program at SIT, for their help with the articles on Tibet and China, respectively; and finally, **Matthew Smith**, also a MAT graduate student, for his very able assistance in various tasks that helped to further the preparation of this issue.

Finally, it is fitting to recognize the support and guidance of all of the Editorial Board members, our colleagues in Communications and Creative Services, the writers and contributors in the Study Abroad unit at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, and their Academic Directors and colleagues worldwide who assisted the student participants in helping to tell the story of the Study Abroad experience through the quality of their essays and research.

¡Gracias!
The Editor

ABOUT STUDY ABROAD

*How shall I talk of the sea to the frog,
If it has never left his pond?
How shall I talk of the frost to the bird of the
summerland,
If it has never left the land of its birth?
How shall I talk of life with the sage,
If he is a prisoner of his doctrine?*

Chung Tsu, 4th Century B.C.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE: STUDENT ESSAYS AND RESEARCH

Rebecca Hovey
Dean, Study Abroad Programs, SIT

World Learning first entered the field of international education as a nongovernmental organization in the early 1930s under the name, The Experiment in International Living. By the 1950s, it initiated its first academic mobility programs in cooperation with various universities at a time when most universities did not yet conduct their own overseas programs. These were known as Cooperative Overseas Programs (COPs) and they included institutions such as Syracuse University, the State University of New York, Dartmouth, Pomona, and Tyler Art School of Temple University, among others. Eventually, Study Abroad programs were placed within the organization's academic branch, the School for International Training (SIT).

Since the inception of the international academic programs, SIT has continued to develop extensive networks of institutional affiliates, local advisors, and field work sites around the world. Aside from the language and cultural immersion they provide, the programs offer undergraduate students opportunities to engage in unique Independent Study Projects (ISPs). Students engaged in local field research commonly reveal a passion and dedication to learning that is reflected in the impressive quality of their work. Much of this work focuses on new and emerging issues at the forefront of development studies, cultural ethnographies, and international policy. Today, with the completion of over 1,500 Independent Study Projects a year, collections of ISP papers in program libraries around the world are widely recognized by students, advisors, and directors, as invaluable resources of initial research efforts, reflections and references on language and cultural aspects, and contemporary realities in each program site.

This issue highlights some of the work completed by participants in SIT's Study Abroad programs. These programs cover a range of themes, including: Culture and Development, Peace and Conflict Studies, Environmental Studies, and a number of specialized programs such as Sexuality, Gender, and Identity; or, Grassroots Development and NGO Management. In each program, students learn basic research design and field study skills that prepare them for their month-long Independent Study Project, culminating the 15-week semester. Each student conducts the ISP under the guidance of local advisors or mentors with specific expertise in the student's topic of choice. U.S. faculty, students, and advisors frequently tell us that they choose — and recommend — SIT programs because of this opportunity to conduct research in addition to each program's emphasis on language and intercultural learning, homestays, and experiential approach to academic studies.

One of our goals is to disseminate this growing body of undergraduate writing and research so that prospective students, local community groups, and scholars can benefit by access to the information, references, and findings in this student work. To this end, the current issue presents condensed versions of student ISP papers conducted during the 1999-2000 academic year. Academic Directors of Study Abroad programs nominated the best student writing of the year; these papers were subsequently submitted for review by the editorial board of the *SIT Occasional Papers Series*. With over 75 excellent nominations for publication, we decided on a format that would showcase work representing a range of topics, broad geographical regions, different intellectual interests, and varied styles of student inquiry.

Before entering into the papers themselves, John Sommer, former Dean of Study Abroad, provides some context to the programs and their participants with a lead article titled “Education Abroad: An Overview.” This piece gives both a retrospective of SIT international education efforts and directions for the future. The article that follows, “Academic Mobility Programs and Intercultural Competence,” by Alvino Fantini, then speaks to the unique nature of SIT programs, and their focus on second language and cross-cultural competencies — a common ingredient in all of World Learning’s programs and activities.

The eight student papers that follow are divided into two sections — “Student Essays” and “Case Studies and Research.” In the first section containing essays, articles represent programs ranging from Ecuador and Samoa to Tibet. These include “*Semana Santa* Friday” by Freeman T. Rogers, “Reflections from the Girls’ Ocean” by Shannon M. Sonenstein, and “The Dead Arise: Cases of Death and Return” by Joseph K. Langerfeld. In the second section, containing Case Studies and Research Projects, articles represent programs ranging from Zimbabwe, Northern Ireland, the European region, Brazil, and China. These are: “Participation for Positive Change: A Case Study of Intra-City Relationships in Bulawayo” by Jeffrey R. Clark, “Perspectives on the Northern Ireland’s Women’s Coalition” by Mark Hoffman, “Economic Reconstruction and Development in South East Europe: A Stability Pact” by Lukas Loncko, “Turning Their Backs on the *Menino dos Olhos do Brasil*: Upper Class Resistance to the Dengue Campaign” by Louise E. Vaz, and “The Nationality Investigations: Discourses of Equality and Evolution in China’s Minority Policy” by Blake Stone-Banks.

The final section, titled “Other Items of Interest,” provides the reader with various related items. These include information about the authors, information about the parent organization World Learning and its worldwide activities, statistics on Study Abroad activities, selected publications on Study Abroad, publications about World Learning, and relevant website information.

For educators, administrators, and students interested in international studies — and the power and potential of such experiences — we hope that this issue provides useful insights and approaches that can be applied in their own work. It is in the spirit of learning from what we do and sharing what we learn to increase the impact of our own work through collaboration with others, that we offer this special focus issue.

EDUCATION ABROAD: AN OVERVIEW¹

John G. Sommer
Former Dean, College Semester Abroad, SIT

ABSTRACT

With globalization a reality in every sphere of life, the need for intercultural and international understanding cannot be overemphasized. Since 1956, SIT's Study Abroad for college students has operated programs in 40-plus countries, distinguishing itself by balancing classroom with field-based learning, urban with rural exposure, and peer reinforcement with language and cultural immersion. SIT students learn not only about the global issues that constitute the themes of these programs, but they also develop intercultural competencies that will last them a lifetime.



OVERVIEW

With globalization a daily reality in every sphere of life, the need for intercultural and international understanding cannot be overemphasized. Decisions made in one country invariably have influences in others. We have seen this clearly in the economic field, where a rise in OPEC oil prices may result in a recession; where Asian banking failures affect the entire global economy; and where an individual country's labor and environmental laws directly affect production costs which influence, in turn, the ability of workers in other countries to compete (and thus eat). We have seen it even more dramatically in the age-old battle over war and peace, where ethnic, nationalist — and now terrorist — movements in one area can threaten whole regions, indeed areas of the entire world, and set them aflame. Nothing short of life and death is at stake here.

In the last decade, the United States has emerged as the world's pre-eminent power, bar none. With American influence over virtually every facet of global life now undisputed, its role and actions are obviously of critical importance. If the flapping of a butterfly's wings is said to affect air currents and thus weather patterns thousands of miles away, imagine how great is the impact of a multi-trillion dollar economy, not to mention armed forces, around

the globe. Given this reality, the question is whether the United States and its citizens are qualified to play such an awesome role.

It is in this context that education abroad presents itself as a key factor. There are, of course, other ways to “qualify” Americans to act wisely in the global arena. The most obvious is good teaching at every level of schooling in the U.S. itself. But nothing packs as big a punch as direct encounter, indeed confrontation, with the world’s innumerable realities and some times subtle variations. Reading books, hearing lectures, seeing films and videos, and exposure to the Internet all have their role, but they are as nothing compared to the gut-wrenching experience of “being there.”

TRENDS IN STUDY ABROAD

At one level, education abroad has been practiced, albeit in tiny numbers, for hundreds of years, since at least the Middle Ages within Europe and, during the twentieth century, with Americans’ participation in European “grand tours” and “finishing schools.” Given U.S. colonization by Europeans and subsequent continuing migration from that continent, such adventures were largely aimed at discovering “roots” or paying homage to the Mother Continent’s high culture. Gradually, with increasing American prosperity and international involvement following World War II, overseas study became increasingly common. If the available data are to be believed (obtained from two undated and unpublished reports issued by the Liaison Group for International Educational Exchange and the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad, *circa* 1990), by the late 1980s some 62,000 U.S. students were studying abroad for credit, 85 percent of these in Europe, with small clusters in Mexico and Israel. By the year 2000, according to the Institute for International Education, the number had risen to 144,000, with 62% in Europe.

The Liaison Group report noted that the best resource the nation can have in facing its international challenges is a very large number of highly trained people with firsthand knowledge of another culture and hands-on experience working and learning there. Both it and the National Task Force observed that fewer than two percent of U.S. college and university students studied abroad in 1987-88 and they recommended a national priority to increase that figure to at least ten percent. Reflecting on the European focus of study abroad, the reports recommended that by the year 2000, the goal should be to increase the proportion of U.S. students going to Asia, Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East to at least 35 percent of the total studying abroad.² This latter point effectively acknowledged a serious imbalance in U.S. attention to, and understanding of, those parts of the world that comprise some three-quarters of the world’s population and account for all wars in which the U.S. has been engaged since World War II — including the current battle against terrorism — and that provide more than one-third of all U.S. imports and exports. The implication of this imbalance for U.S. jobs and living standards, let alone those of the rest of the world, is clear.

SIT AND STUDY ABROAD

The School for International Training's role in study abroad is widely acknowledged to be unique. This is partly because SIT's history is different from that of virtually all other study abroad programs. Its parent institution, The Experiment in International Living (now World Learning), was founded in 1932 to enhance the prospects for world peace by promoting understanding among peoples; the laboratory for achieving such understanding was the family, through the renown Experiment homestay experience. Having found this model successful for summer groups overseas, Experiment leaders at the time felt very simply that the basic summer homestay model, with the addition of an academic component, would have an even greater impact on young Americans. Accordingly, at the initial invitation of Syracuse University in 1956 — an invitation soon followed by the State University of New York, Dartmouth, Pomona, and several other colleges — the first Cooperative Study Abroad programs were initiated. One may contrast this with the history of traditional study abroad programs directly sponsored by U.S. colleges and universities, most of which began (and still continue) with direct enrollment of students in overseas institutions.

Of course, Experiment/SIT Study Abroad (SA) programs have changed substantially since those origins nearly half a century ago. As most of the cooperating colleges gained experience in study abroad, they tended to launch programs using their own staff and resources, leaving The Experiment to organize its own programs and to extend its draw to students from an even broader range of colleges and universities throughout the United States. The Experiment model was essentially rooted in language and culture learning gained through residence with a host family, with classes and educational excursions and, in the program's culminating weeks, an independent study project. The hosting structure and organization of each program was provided by each country's national office of The Experiment in International Living, although each group of students (there were both high school and college programs in those days) was led, as were the non-academic summer programs, by a U.S. leader called the academic director. Most programs were in Europe but, unusual for that era, some were located in countries such as Japan, Ghana, India, Nepal, Brazil, Ecuador, and Nigeria, where Experiment offices existed and were willing to host.

Although the School for International Training was founded as The Experiment's academic arm in 1964, the study abroad programs were folded into SIT only in 1981. By that time there had been 146-260 college students enrolled each year, with additional growth potential as yet unrealized. The programs had been hobbled, in part, by the very Experiment in International Living identification that was also their greatest advantage: they were as widely known as the long-standing summer Experiment sojourns in which tens of thousands of Americans had participated, but they were too often known as just that — non-academic sojourns. A major overhaul was called for, and undertaken.

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE MODEL

Today's SIT Study Abroad model is essentially one of creative balances: between traditional classroom and experiential, field-based learning; between urban and rural exposures; and between U.S. peer support and local cultural immersion.

BALANCING TRADITIONAL AND EXPERIENTIAL, FIELD-BASED LEARNING

Experiential education, as defined by SIT, involves a rigorous process of integrating direct observation from the field with analytical and reflective learning. To have experience, after all, is not always sufficient in itself. Rather, one must use basic analytic processes and the perspectives of the conventional academic disciplines as ways of seeing and understanding. One must be adaptable to accepting new ways of seeing and thinking in both an intellectual sense and in an everyday living sense. Learning is optimized, and driven home, by the synergy of formal presentations and readings on the one hand and experiential, field-based verification and integration on the other.

Nor is experiential verification always easy in a new cultural setting. Indeed, it can be stressful to adapt to a different climate, a new language, strange food, prescribed ways of dressing, and unfamiliar ways of acting in order to be accepted in a new culture and thus able to learn from it. In the process, students are forced to examine many of their fundamental assumptions — assumptions whose existence they may not even have recognized before. They must be open to questioning these assumptions and they must be challenged to do so. They must “reflect radically” on the world, use their skills, knowledge, values, and perspectives, and draw on each other in doing so in order to invoke meaning so that new and fresh questions may be asked. They must experience the world aggressively, view it critically, deal with fellow students and new host country friends with humility, understanding, and responsibility — both inside and outside the classroom.

In study abroad, visceral experience cannot be divorced from intellectual analysis. One without the other is incomplete. The visceral grabs us, forces us to confront reality and reflect upon it, applying classroom and book learning that has itself been stimulated by the need to seek answers to questions raised in everyday life in the family, on the street, in a village setting. SIT students learn what would soon be forgotten were it not reinforced and given new meaning through real life experience. It is the student's job, and that of the in-country director, to help draw the connections between classroom and field experience in order to enrich the learning and to help it last.

This emphasis on the critical synergy between classroom academics and structured field-based experience is key to the SIT approach to study abroad and at some variance to images of “experiential education” that may assume a lack of academic or intellectual rigor. In fact, SIT Study Abroad combines classroom study with structured field study in the same way that U.S. natural science courses combine laboratory periods with lecture sessions. Study Abroad fieldwork is the social science or humanities equivalent of the natural science lab.

Most students find this way of learning intellectually invigorating. Many find it difficult. None find it lacking in integrity or potential for inducing growth. They find that formal education is a beginning, not an end, that they are “learning how to learn,” a skill that will last them a lifetime — but only if they are willing to invest of themselves in the process.

BALANCING URBAN AND RURAL EXPOSURES

Key to understanding the significance of this balance is an understanding of where SIT students go. Uniquely among study abroad programs, SIT sends the large majority of its more than 1,500 annual participants to nontraditional locations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.³ These are the continents that not only contain the majority of the world’s population, but where business and trade opportunities are increasing most dramatically, where the gap between rich and poor is most alarming and thus most threatening to world peace and security, and where environmental degradation and disease threaten not only the peoples of those continents but, given modern communications and widespread travel, all citizens of the globe.⁴

In many of these Third World areas where rural society is still predominant, the traditional urban, university-based study abroad experience would be incomplete, indeed misleading as to local realities. Furthermore, the subjects of SIT Study Abroad programs — such as conservation and ecology, culture and development, arts and social change, and peace and conflict studies — cannot be studied without engaging with village populations. Even in Europe, SIT includes a rural component to ensure appropriate balance and as full an exposure to the broad range of human experience as is possible in the course of one semester.

BALANCING U.S. PEER SUPPORT AND LOCAL CULTURAL IMMERSION

Because SIT’s study abroad model and program locations challenge participants more than most other study abroad programs, and because that model calls for a sophisticated mix of classroom and field learning in rural as well as urban settings (and in countries often lacking in amenities or even stability), experienced on-site leadership is critical. Each SIT program is thus led by a U.S.-appointed academic director, supported by staff from the country itself, whose role is to provide academic and administrative coordination and advising support to the students — to orient and help nurture them during their early days in country, and to encourage them to move beyond the group and into the society — to fly on their own — as their skills and confidence grow over the course of the semester.

This balance between U.S. group experience and host country cultural immersion is, like the other balances, a delicate one. Individual students have individual needs for support, on the one hand, and for independence, on the other — needs which change over the course of the semester, and sometimes even from day to day during the throes of grappling with new overseas realities. The SIT model allows for considerable variability depending on these individual needs, although because the program is specially set up for the SIT group — with the advantage of being geared to U.S. education requirements — most of each day is spent together in the group except during the last independent study month. The benefits of group reflection and discussion are palpable, as members are able to benefit from multiple

experiences, gaining a variety of insights far exceeding those available to any one individual. With the experienced academic director facilitating the analysis, many of these discussions achieve a unique richness of understanding.

What the group members are processing, of course, is not only the classroom seminars and field trips common to all, but also their individual homestay and community observations and activities. These not only allow, but force students to practice their newly developed cross-cultural competencies. Constant immersion, particularly at the outset of the program, would probably be too exhausting for the then-still-inexperienced sojourners, and constant peer-group company would close off the richness of larger societal exposure. As with the other SIT balances, here, too, the synergy between the two is what deepens understanding.

THE PIONEER SPIRIT

SIT has pioneered college study abroad in countries hitherto untouched by American student groups: Vietnam and Cuba during the U.S. embargo and before diplomatic recognition; South Africa before majority rule; and the Balkans, Mongolia, Madagascar, and several other countries of Africa. In countries such as the former Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam, where local authorities initially said homestays would be impossible, SIT was the first to include them as regular program components and thus rich learning opportunities.

SIT has also pioneered unique substantive themes, including sexuality, gender, and identity (in the Netherlands); Pacific Islands Studies (in Samoa); indigenous studies (in the Pacific Northwest); African diaspora studies (in Ghana and Brazil); revolution, transformation, and civil society (in Nicaragua and Cuba); and grassroots development and NGO management (in Zimbabwe), among others. How, one might ask, has all this been possible?

First, SIT, far more easily than a traditional U.S. college or university, has a historical mission that virtually demands a different way of determining program priorities: the SIT goal goes beyond education alone to providing education that promotes peace and justice and the competencies to achieve these on an international plane.

Second, beyond this historical goal and resultant mindset, SIT has the small size and thus flexibility to innovate, and to do so in ways that not only earn and maintain accreditation by the same Northeast Association of Schools and Colleges that accredits all higher education institutions in New England, but that lead visiting review teams to praise SIT's academic integrity and excellence.

Third, SIT has unique links to the World Learning and Experiment network of governmental, multilateral, and NGO contacts around the globe. There is virtually no country in the world without either a resident staff member, SIT graduate, or Experiment alum who is well-placed, capable, and eager to contribute or recommend professional resources for SIT's Study Abroad programs. Increasing numbers of SIT alumni are also

qualified and available to direct SA programs with full knowledge of the concerned country, program theme, and SIT educational philosophy. Where others hesitate to tread, the SIT network invariably identifies old friends fully capable of providing key support for a quality program.

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Having said all this, there are, of course, challenges, some of them inherent in the model itself, and others relating to risks in the international environment. The SIT model, based as it is on family homestay as opposed to university dormitory residence, leaves some students feeling relatively deprived of local peer contacts. While a number of academic directors find ways to organize activities that bring the American and local students together, and while many students find their own means of meeting (sometimes through their host families), there is a certain social tradeoff in choosing SIT as opposed to a direct enrollment program. For many, the exposure to family life and generational interaction is more compelling; others may prefer a more purely peer-related arrangement and thus another type of study abroad program.

Similarly, there are academic advantages and disadvantages to a specially devised program through SIT as distinct from direct enrollment in a host institution. The former ensures a level of instruction, content, and language medium that is geared to the background of foreigners new to the particular country; it also affords protection when host universities are sometimes closed due to strikes or political unrest. The latter, assuming sufficient language ability, exposes one to learning as locals learn. While almost all U.S. colleges and universities accept SIT transfer credits, some insist on the direct enrollment model for Europe and Australia, where they feel more confident of host institutions' "academic quality," and do not accept credits for students who choose SIT programs in those areas. SIT, on the other hand, believes it is pedagogically sounder to approve for each student the academic model most appropriate for that student's individual learning style.

SIT, along with the study abroad community as a whole, also acknowledges the need for considerably increased diversification among study abroad participants. SIT programs attract approximately the same percentage of minority Americans as do other study abroad programs, a good sign considering its cost, but not considering the particular attraction of many of the programs for heritage-seeking students. Indeed, where Europe originally beckoned European-Americans in the twentieth century, Africa, Asia, and Latin America are increasingly beckoning students from these backgrounds today, many of whom find the experience emotionally powerful and, as for almost all SA students, life-changing.

The two major environmental challenges to study abroad — health and safety — are in some ways particularly challenging to SIT, given its heavy focus on Third World countries. There is no denying that disease is a threat in many African, Asian, and also Latin American settings, though not as threatening as popular mythology suggests. Malaria is almost as common as the common cold in some locations, though precautions and suppressants usually

protect travelers, and the means of treatment are well known and available when needed. One out of four citizens of countries such as Botswana and Zimbabwe are said to be HIV positive and thus susceptible to AIDS, but again, the necessary precautions are well known. SIT's policy on health is to follow closely, and strongly commend to all students, the recommendations of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC), the acknowledged leading U.S. authority on international health matters. The vast majority of students following CDC guidelines have not encountered serious health problems.

With respect to safety, the situation is much the same. With the increasing worldwide gap between rich and poor, exacerbated by population pressures and, in many cases, poor and/or corrupt government services, law and order leave much to be desired in certain countries. While SIT is potentially vulnerable because of the relatively vulnerable settings in which it operates, there are mitigating factors that actually promote students' safety. One of these is an unusually thorough approach to initial and ongoing orientation by the academic director and local authorities as to safe and unsafe practices in each location where the students spend time. Another is the role of the homestay families who tend to be protective of students and reinforce that orientation and concern for their welfare. Still another is the years-, even decades-long affiliations enjoyed by SIT with receiving communities, and the sense of responsibility that many community members feel for SIT students. As with health considerations, the vast majority of students who follow the safety guidelines have not encountered significant problems.

On a larger scale, given SIT's locations in countries exhibiting a tendency to political and economic instability, the wisdom of conducting a program during such periods, or of withdrawing students already there, occasionally arises. As with other major U.S. study abroad providers with whom SIT has been engaged on a safety task force, the rule of thumb is to follow U.S. State Department guidance and to make such temporary modifications to program plans as needed to avoid specific areas of conflict. Here too, SIT has the unique advantage of a substantial host country support network based on years of ongoing presence and cooperation. In some cases, this has even afforded better information on local circumstances than may be available through traditional diplomatic channels which are sometimes also flavored by bilateral political considerations.

LOOKING AHEAD

Education abroad in this global age is bound to grow, indeed must grow if international institutions are to function in the best interests of people everywhere. The political, economic, environmental, health, and humanitarian future of every individual is now, more clearly than ever before, linked to that of every other. The only way to understand these realities and to learn to cope with them — to cope with life itself — is to understand the world. The experience of SIT, and many, many others, is that true understanding cannot come from books or lectures or the Internet alone; it can only come from “being there,” from experiencing the world in its manifold variations, and from striving to find ways to live in peace with one another.

Although some other study abroad programs have begun applying elements of SIT's approach in recent years, SIT is the first to recognize that this approach is not for everyone. It is for those students who have the courage and energy to undertake a powerful new experience and the initiative and maturity to make wise use of the amazing opportunities available to them. As one returnee put it, "No experience has ever pushed me so far past my limits. No other experience has ever taught me so fully the true meaning of possibility. In less than four months, I experienced more than some people do in an entire lifetime!" In the words of another, "The world and possibilities for life feel vast, and college seems very small, but not insignificant. I acquired a new energy and vigor, and felt I was finally engaging in something worthwhile. When people say 'when you come home, you'll be a different person,' it may sound melodramatic, but it's true. If you open your eyes and take risks, you'll learn more than you could ever imagine."⁵

ENDNOTES

1. This article was adapted from the original that appeared in the SIT Occasional Papers Inaugural issue, *About Our Institution*, Spring 2000, pp. 63-71.

2. According to Institute for International Education data published in its *Open Doors Series*, 1998-99 saw some nine percent of U.S. undergraduates involved in overseas study, about 30 percent of these in Third World areas. While this suggests that the task force's goals have indeed been nearly met, the comprehensiveness, quality, and thus comparability of the data over the various years are quite uncertain.

3. This uniqueness was emphasized in a 1993 cover story in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* entitled "World Learning Offers Study Abroad with a Difference."

4. The *1999 United Nations Human Development Report* indicates that out of a world consumption bill of \$24 trillion, the richest fifth of the world's people consumes 86 percent of all goods and services, while the poorest fifth consumes just 1.3 percent.

5. For more on a student's view of SA, see Elkin 1998. For an earlier, academic director's view, see Ladd 1990.

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ACADEMIC MOBILITY PROGRAMS AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

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ABSTRACT

Globalization and increasing contact among the peoples of the world has resulted in the need for a new paradigm, one that allows participation in more than a single ethnic or national group. As a result, all people need to be able to deal with those from other cultural backgrounds in effective and appropriate ways. Today, academic competence is insufficient; intercultural competence is also needed. This competence involves not only more knowledge about the world, but also cross-cultural skills, positive attitudes toward differences, and awareness. Academic mobility programs play an important role in fomenting and developing such competence in those who participate in a study abroad experience.



INTRODUCTION

“If you want to know about water,
don’t ask a goldfish.”

We are entering a new age. Some have called it an era of globalization in which the links among peoples around the world are increasingly visible and felt, and “interdependence” is no longer an abstract notion. Certainly, the events of September 11 have caused everyone to re-examine both the positive and negative sides of an interdependent world. One thing that is clear, however, is that intensified contact and interaction among people of diverse cultural backgrounds demands a new paradigm — one that allows us to go beyond participation in only a single ethnic or national group. In today’s world, everyone needs the abilities that will ensure “effective and appropriate” interactions when dealing with people from other cultural backgrounds. This is certainly true when interacting across national boundaries; it is also true when dealing across ethnic groups within the same country.

Today, academic competence alone is insufficient; other competencies are also needed — abilities that transcend both professional and vocational work. Some have labeled these abilities “global” or “international” competence (Wilson 2000), recognizing the need to “know” more about the world. At World Learning, however, the “individual” and “interactional” aspects of intercultural dealings are also stressed. Hence, the label “intercultural competence” is preferred, signaling that “knowledge” alone is not enough; cross-cultural skills, positive attitudes, and awareness, are also sorely needed. Should cross-cultural interactions fail, the consequences can be severe — misunderstanding, conflict, ethnic strife, even genocide, often result.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Education institutions have an important role in developing the intercultural competence of students beyond preparing them in their chosen professional field. Secretary of Education, Rod Paige, underscored this importance in a “Statement on International Education” issued in recognition of International Education Week 2001 (Paige 2001):

. . . the U.S. Department of Education recognizes the importance of educating students about people and nations throughout the world in preparing our students to live in a diverse and tolerant society and succeed in a global economy.

Knowledge about the culture and language of our neighbors throughout the world is becoming increasingly important in the daily lives of all Americans. The events surrounding the terrorist attacks of September 11 underscore that point. For our students, international education means learning about the history, geography, literature, and arts of other complex global issues. It means having opportunities to experience other cultures, whether through study abroad, exposure to diversity in their own communities, or through classroom-to-classroom Internet connections with students in schools in other nations.

The U.S. Department of Education supports international education programs in our schools, colleges, and universities that build high levels of worldwide understanding and expertise. For our nation to continue to engage other nations effectively, we need to give our students at all levels an international education that meets the highest standards.

In this statement, Paige specifically cites study abroad programs and their role in helping students to develop an international education and a better understanding of others. What he does not also say is that while cross-cultural experiences provide access to another world

view (WV2), intercultural experiences also have an impact on one's native world view (WV1). Learning about another language and culture (or "linguaculture") provokes learning about one's own view of the world and, in the process, changes the "self." This is the real power that a study abroad provides that may not also occur when remaining in one's own milieu.

ACADEMIC MOBILITY PROGRAMS

One of the most effective means of developing intercultural competence — for teachers and students alike — is through international academic mobility programs. Many colleges offer semester or year-long programs for their students. The anticipated outcome is the "development of global citizenship, cross-cultural awareness, and a cosmopolitan world view." The School for International Training, however, is unique in that it offers study abroad options in more than 40 countries on five continents. These programs attract students matriculated at other institutions that do not provide mobility programs or do not conduct them in countries where students wish to study. These programs provide important experiences that often influence students' educational choices, lifestyles, and careers, and thereby contribute significantly to their global preparation.

Many factors, however, mediate WV2 entry and cross-cultural success: time, length, and type of exposure; one's already existing WV1; biological, sociological, and psychological factors; and learning strategies and external interventions, among others. In young children, the time, length, and type of exposure to the native culture totals thousands of hours by age five. In adults, the time, length, and type of exposure allotted for learning about a WV2, especially in classroom settings, is considerably less. Biologists and neurolinguists cite changes in the brain that occur with age, altering our approach to language learning later in life. For the child, native linguaculture and one's developing cognition are entwined; for the adult, a fully developed way of understanding the world already exists and this influences and mediates all subsequent learning.

Within the social realm, the child enters into a linguaculture as part of daily interaction routines; the adult has already well established social circles and defined roles that resist new ways of reconstituting the social world. Psychologically, the child is open and free with an identity not quite formed; conversely, the adult has a well-defined sense of self, a self-image, and motivations that aid or constrain interest and enthusiasm for new experiences. The child is guided by caretakers and others who intervene, correct, guide, and set limits. The adult learner is assisted by teachers and trainers whose interventions may be more or less effective, sometimes conflicting with the learner's learning styles, and some times with those of the target culture as well. Finally, the child learns in a naturalistic setting; the adult often learns in the artificial construct of a classroom or, if in a naturalistic setting, without tutored assistance. Studying abroad, however, provides an immersion experience that goes far beyond classroom learning alone.

All of these factors either help or hinder acculturation. Whereas WV1 entry requires the development of “cultural” competence; WV2 entry requires the additional development of “intercultural” competence.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Although the development of ICC challenges educators and learners alike, it also enables exciting opportunities. Intercultural competence offers the possibility of transcending the limitations of a single world view. Like the goldfish in the proverb cited at the beginning of this article, those who have never experienced another culture or struggled to communicate through another language, often remain unaware of the milieu in which they have always existed.

Educators, at a recent conference held by the Carnegie Corporation, met to discuss their role in preparing students for a global environment. They felt their major challenge was to create comprehensive educational models capable of addressing the myriad of subjects and issues appropriate for a global education. The models they considered encompass global issues and challenges, global cultures and world areas, and the relationships of the United States with the rest of the world. Knowledge of culture, geography, history, and language are also needed (Barker 2000, p. 3). While increased knowledge of the world is clearly cited, unfortunately, the skills, attitudes, and awareness that underlie ICC are generally overlooked. And although educators cite the importance of language, the importance of starting language instruction early and continuing until significant proficiency is attained, needs to be stated explicitly.

In a recent opinion poll (Report, ACE 2000), the American Council on Education found growing interest in international education; but actual statistics contradict this trend. The results of the poll revealed:

- low levels of student global awareness
- a decline in foreign language enrollments from a high of 16 percent in the 1990s to a current average of about 8 percent
- a decrease in foreign language graduation requirements in four-year institutions from 34 percent in 1965 to just over 20 percent in 1995
- a disappointing overall level of international activity in our institutions
- fewer than 114,000 students traveling abroad last year (out of a student population of more than 14 million)
- and fewer than one percent of students studying abroad each year.

Ensuring ICC development in this global age requires nothing less than a profound transformation in the current culture of educational organizations, paralleling the changes occurring in the societies in which they exist. Institutional change, however, also demands modifications in our educational approaches, as well as in how we define professional and intercultural competencies for faculty and students. Positive contact with people holding

other world views affords opportunities to experience a shift of perspective and an appreciation for both the diversity and the commonalities that exist among all human beings.

This type of paradigm shift is described by one author as “. . . the greatest revolution in the world — one that occurs with the head, within the mind . . . [as] social transformation, resulting from personal transformation — change from the inside out.” (Ferguson 1980, p. 18). But for this to happen, colleges and universities must recognize the opportunities and accept the challenges that globalization presents. We need to educate our students and ourselves to become better global participants — able to understand other people “on their own terms” while also deepening an appreciation of our own heritages. Study abroad experiences, aided by the development of intercultural competence, offer such a promise.

ENDNOTE

For more on intercultural competence, see: Fantini, “A Central Concern: Developing Intercultural Competence” in the *SIT Occasional Papers Series*, Inaugural Issue, *About Our Institution*, pp. 25-42; also Fantini et al., *Globalization and 21st Century Competencies: Challenges for North American Higher Education*, 2000.

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STUDENT ESSAYS

SEMANA SANTA FRIDAY

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ABSTRACT

This fictional short story is about Manuel, a fisherman on the coast of Ecuador. He has fished all his life in the saltwater estuary at the mouth of the *Rio Chone*. However, during his lifetime, foreigners have come to the river to construct ponds in which to raise shrimp along its banks. To build these ponds, the foreigners cut down the mangrove trees on both sides of the river. As a result of the destruction of the mangroves, the estuary is slowly dying. Manuel begins catching less and less fish, and struggles to feed himself and his wife. Desperate, Manuel goes fishing on *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) weekend, even though it is considered very bad luck to fish during this sacred time.



SEMANA SANTA FRIDAY

When Manuel was only seven or eight, he had already started fishing with his father in the estuary of the *Rio Chone*. There, they caught plenty of shrimp and fish in the shade of the mangroves that lined the estuary where the river emptied into the bay. Often they would catch enough even before *almuerzo* (lunch) at mid-day.

“We shouldn’t be greedy. The estuary is generous. She’ll give us all we need,” his father often said, when he determined that they had caught enough to buy food or clothes or pay whatever bill needed to be paid. Then they would take the rest of the day off to swim or buy an *helado* (ice cream) or go home early and surprise Manuel’s mother. Back then, the fishermen in the village lived comfortably.

But when Manuel neared the age when he was able to get his own boat, Jeeps and Landcruisers started arriving. They drove past the fishing village to the Bahía de Caraquez peninsula that jutted out into the bay, separating the bay from the open ocean. Here, the owners of the Jeeps and Landcruisers built extravagant pastel houses on the beach. The fishermen lived further inland, along the estuary, where they had more protection from the summer storms that could easily flatten their one- and two-room shacks.

Mostly, the newcomers were *gringos*.

The fishermen didn't know what the *gringos* were doing there until one of them in a suit and tie who spoke choppy Spanish came. He explained that he and his friends had bought some land a little way up the river and they were going to build pools and raise shrimp. This process had worked all up and down the coast, he said, and many people were getting rich. Shrimp farms, he said, were Ecuador's ticket into the future. With shrimp farms, he said, there would be no need to go out into the ocean every day to get seafood. They could raise the shrimp in pools and harvest them right there. He needed workers and was willing to pay the fishermen twice what they earned fishing every day, he said.

Manuel's father wasn't interested. "We don't need any more money," Manuel's father said. But some of Manuel's friends did take work at the shrimp farms. They started buying battery operated radios and nicer clothes, and soon some of them moved into their own houses. Manuel would go over to their houses and listen to radio programs from Quito. Soon, Manuel wanted to go to work on one of the shrimp farms. He told his father that he wanted to go, and his father didn't object.

"You're a man now. Do what you want," his father told him; but Manuel knew that his father didn't approve. He went to work for the shrimp farmers anyway.

At the shrimp farms, Manuel and his friends spent an entire dry season cutting down mangrove trees and replaced them with shrimp pools. More and more pools were built, until the estuary was lined with shrimp pools instead of with mangroves. The pools came nearer and nearer to the fishing village. After the pools were built, the owners began raising shrimp in them. But then, once the pools were functioning, the owner sent Manuel and his friends back home.

"Sorry, *amigos*. We don't need your help any more," the owners said. Now, they only needed a guard for each pool, and they hired the guards from the city. So Manuel and his friends went back to fishing in the open water.

At first, they didn't mind. But, over the years the shrimp pools prospered and more were built. More mangroves were destroyed and replaced with shrimp pools. Without mangroves, the estuary slowly began to die. The fishermen began catching less and less. Soon, Manuel found that he had to fish all day to catch what he used to gather in only two or three hours in the morning. As the years passed, Bahía de Caraquez, where the shrimp pool owners lived, became wealthy, rich with restaurants, expensive stores, and oceanfront houses. The fishing village became increasingly run down and hungry. Many of Manuel's friends left to find work in Quito. Manuel kept fishing, doing the best that he could.

Manuel grew old, and became one of the poorest of the fishermen in the village. Other fishermen of his age lived with their children and fished when they wanted to or, when they needed a little extra money to play the game *cuarenta*. But Manuel and his wife had no children. They had long ago moved out of the house of his childhood and into a small one-room shack near the water. They owned a table, a mattress, a small cooler, an old radio that

Manuel had bought when he worked at the shrimp pools, and little else. He struggled to catch enough fish even to buy rice.

Manuel couldn't even get out of the bay like the other fishermen. When his friends weren't satisfied with their catch in the bay, they left for the ocean in motored launches or paddled their canoes out for four or five days to fish. But Manuel couldn't afford a motor and didn't have the energy anymore to paddle out past the breakers. So, he fished the bay for all it was worth, usually not much.

In the spring, Manuel again played his hand differently than the others so he would have an advantage. Tomorrow was Thursday of *Semana Santa* (Holy Week), the day before *el Día de la Crucifixión* (Good Friday). Most of the other fishermen wouldn't fish. Not because it was bad luck, like on the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of *Semana Santa*, but because they were proud. Only the most needy fished on the Thursday of *Semana Santa*. The rest played *cuarenta* and drank *Cristal Seco* in front of the *tiendas* (little stores) in the fishing village. When none of the other fishermen fished, Manuel, the Fisherman, could fish in all the best spots and find shrimp. For the past three years, he had been able to catch enough on *Semana Santa* Thursday to buy rice and tomatoes until the fishing started to pick up again at the end of May. But this year was harder than the last. The price of food had risen. Tomorrow, he would need to catch more than he had ever caught before.

The night before *Semana Santa* Thursday, Manuel ate a small dinner of rice and a tomato with his wife.

"I'll catch tomorrow," he promised her, "It's *Semana Santa* Thursday." He noticed how little she ate, and how she had served him a much bigger portion than she had served herself.

"I know," she said, and smiled at him. She never complained to him. But Manuel had noticed that she was getting more and more feeble. She often had trouble getting out of bed in the morning. And she was thinner than she had ever been. Manuel and his wife knew that they needed help, but neither one of them would accept anything from their neighbors, who always tried to bring by their extra catch or leftover rice.

"We don't need anything. Why would you think that we would need anything?," they told their neighbors.

After Manuel's promise to his wife, the two didn't talk again. After they ate, Manuel switched on the radio. The two sat side-by-side on concrete blocks in front of their shack and listened to a dance music radio program from Quito playing through the static. Together, they watched the sun go down.

Manuel lit a candle after his wife went to bed. In the flickering light, he began fixing the holes in his circular *ataraya* net. Halfway through, the candle burned out, and he went outside to finish in the moonlight. The cord ran out before he had fixed the last hole, but it was only a small hole. Then he found a jar of hooks and a line under the shack. He had not fished with hook and line in a long time because he tired quickly when he had to pull in a

big fish. But the next day, it would be worth it to use the line if the *corbina* were feeding in the estuary. He sharpened four hooks with a fingernail file. After putting the net and the line and hooks into a plastic bucket by the door, he lay beside his wife and slept for a few hours.

Before dawn, he was awake again. He kissed his wife on the cheek and carried his bucket and paddle through the dark down the dirt road to the bay. His small wooden canoe floated off the shore and he waded through the mud to reach it. It had taken on a lot of water in the night. It always did now. The canoe was over 60 years old and had belonged to his father; now, the tar that patched the cracks was wearing away. He climbed in and scooped out the water with several sweeps of a plastic half-jug that he kept tied in the canoe. Using the paddle, he pushed the boat through the mud for four or five boat lengths until he was in water deep enough to paddle.

Manuel paddled hard for as long as he could, bailing water every few minutes. He kept his eyes closed and didn't look at the barren shrimp pools that lined the sides of the estuary. By the time the sun rose over the mountains on the far side of the bay, he had come a long way up the river, to *Isla Corazón*. Here were the last mangroves in the bay. Tour companies, that took foreigners on canoe rides to look at the pink herons that lived there, had managed to save the small, heart-shaped mangrove island from being covered with shrimp pools.

Isla Corazón was now one of the best places in the bay to catch shrimp. Most days, fishermen crowded around it, jockeying for positions close to the trees. But now, Manuel the fisherman had it all to himself. He took off his shirt and slipped into the water. It was only a meter deep and he sat down on the mud bottom to put his shoulders under. He sat in the water for a while, and dipped his head under. The water eased the ache in his muscles and soon he was ready to fish. He stood in the water to throw the *ataraya* so he would stay cool as the sun rose higher. Grabbing one side of the net in his hands and one side in his mouth, he threw it out, toward the mangrove island. The net formed a perfect circle in the air and dropped with no splash. He waited until the ripples died away, and slowly pulled the net in. Laying it on the canoe, he sorted through the folds. Empty, except for two sticks, a shell, and a small crab.

Walking around the island and throwing the net every few meters, he had no better luck. Once he caught three shrimp in one throw and got excited, thinking he had found a good spot. But several more throws around the same area caught nothing. He cut one of the three shrimp in half and used it to bait two hooks. Tying a line to each leg above his knee, he threw the baited hooks behind him into the center of the river. He left them there while he threw the net more. If a fish bit, he would feel the tug.

He fished around the island for the rest of the morning, walking larger and larger circles around it. He caught nothing more there. The hooks caught nothing either. He knew that crabs had stolen the bait because he had felt no tug and the hooks came back empty. He tried fishing farther up the river. No luck. For the rest of the day, he fished, but caught nothing except mud and sticks. When the sun went down, he knew that he only had five more hours before *el Día de la Crucifixión*. He had to catch before then. If he could only find where the

shrimp were, he could at least catch a few pounds. He couldn't go back home with only two shrimp.

He was chilly now, and started fishing from the canoe. He paddled hard and threw often, zigzagging down the river and not stopping to rest. As it got later, he threw faster and faster, panicked. But he had only caught three more shrimp when the moon appeared on the horizon, warning him that it was almost midnight, almost *el Día de la Crucifixión*. He threw once more and then slowly pulled the net in.

Nothing. He lay back in the canoe.

Manuel wanted to keep fishing, but remembered stories he had heard about people who had fished during *Semana Santa* weekend. His uncle had thrown his net on that day, and it had come back full of fish skeletons. Another fisherman had been eaten by a shark, canoe and all. Other stories told of freak storms and horrible diseases. Nobody fished on *Semana Santa* weekend. Manuel was exhausted and soon slept. In a dream, he paddled far out into the ocean and found a school of *sierra* (swordfish), each one as long as his arm. He fished and filled the canoe with so many fish that he had to stand up to paddle home.

Soon water collected in the bottom of the canoe and Manuel woke up. The dream was a good sign. When Manuel dreamed of catching, he caught. And *sierra* like he saw in the dream brought 80,000 *sucres* apiece, more than he had made in the past month fishing for shrimp. A whole boat of them would be enough to support him and his wife for the rest of the year. Or, it could buy a small motor. With the dream still fresh in his mind, Manuel looked out toward the ocean.

The moon had risen higher and reflected a yellow pathway on the water, leading past the Bahía de Caraquez peninsula and out of the bay. He hadn't been to the ocean for five years. A single man in a canoe had to paddle hard for half a day to get out of the bay, through the surf, out to where the big fish schooled. The last time he had gone out, he had barely made it home. His bones had ached too much, and he had passed out trying to paddle back in the hot sun. If a motorboat had not found him and towed him back home, he probably would have died. He had been sick for a month after that. But now his dream filled him with energy and he didn't feel tired anymore, and he forgot everything except the school of *sierra*.

He started paddling toward the ocean. He paddled past the fishing village, dark except for a few *tiendas* where fishermen crowded, watching games of *cuarenta*. He paddled past the bright peninsula of Bahía to the rhythm of dance music coming from the clubs. Red and blue disco lights flashed on the water. Heads bobbed in the dance clubs. New sport-utility vehicles and convertibles cruised the road. A launch full of tourists crossing the bay to San Vicente passed so close to the Fisherman that he could smell the alcohol on the tourists' breath. But nobody noticed him.

When he reached the end of the peninsula, which jugged out into the bay, protecting it from the ocean, he faced the surf. The wind had picked up and white caps stretched out into the night, breaking up the yellow pathway of moonlight. The music from car stereos cruising

the tip of the peninsula mixed with the sound of the breaking waves. Occasionally, the sound of teenage boys shouting to teenage girls reached his ears. He put down his paddle and stood up and stretched. He bent over to stretch his back, then leaned back and shook his arms. The air was cold and he felt it now that he had stopped paddling. He put his t-shirt back on. He hadn't brought anything warmer because he hadn't thought that he would be staying out through the night. Now, he began to think about the last time he had paddled out. He shivered and kneeled to pray.

"Please God, let me catch tonight. I need it." He stood back up, and then added, "I'm sorry I'm fishing on *el Día de la Crucifixión*."

Still standing, he started paddling. He paddled straight for the line of white caps. The trick, he knew, was to face directly into the waves. Then they couldn't capsize him. The first wave knocked him back to where he had started. He had forgotten their strength, forgotten how hard he had to paddle. He rested and tried again, this time using all his strength. His knees bent and his whole body propelled the canoe forward, back into the surf. At first, he fought to stay in the same place. The canoe moved a little forward and then a wave pushed it back. Gradually, his body began to remember how to push the canoe between waves. Forward a little. Back with a wave. Forward a little more, back less. He started to make progress, slowly. He pushed his body as hard as he could. His arms and legs started to shake. He used all his strength for every paddle. Sweat mixed with the salt water that splashed him from the whitecaps. Twice, he lost his balance and fell to his knees. But he got back up quickly. Once, he dropped the paddle into the water, but managed to grab it before it was swept away.

"*¡Vamos! ¡Vamos!*" he yelled, pleading with his canoe.

He kept his eyes on the yellow pathway. A few boat lengths away, he could see it was unbroken by waves. In a few more paddles, he could rest. But the yellow pathway began to fade as he watched it. A thick cloud passed slowly over the moon and the path gradually disappeared. In the instant of its total disappearance, the fisherman became disoriented. The canoe turned just a little bit, its longside facing the waves. The biggest wave came then. It had been welling up for some distance and it now broke on the fisherman's canoe. With the canoe at an angle, the curl of the wave carried it like a surfboard for an instant before rolling it, throwing the fisherman into the water. The wave sucked him down, and somersaulted him toward the beach at the tip of the peninsula. He didn't try to fight it.

The wave dropped him in knee-deep water. He tried to stand up, coughing and spitting water, but fell back down when a small wave pushed him from behind. He had washed up on a beach that was separated by a concrete wall from a street crowded with cars and teenagers. He crawled toward the streetlights and music on the other side of the wall, but the weak undertow sucked him back toward the ocean. He gave up trying to move and sat down to be washed back and forth with the tide.

Eventually, the tide pushed him up onto the beach. He looked up toward the lights and music, but didn't see anything except the backs of the teenagers sitting on the concrete wall. He tried to call out for help, but no sound came out of his mouth, so he rolled over on his back and slept. Once, he vomited salt water, but he just turned his head and didn't wake up. He lay there for a long time, vaguely hearing the pounding of music and the teenage shouting in his sleep.

He woke up some time later and felt urine trickling in his face. A teenager had jumped over the wall and was relieving himself on rocks just up the beach from Manuel's head. He still didn't try to move. A head appeared over the wall.

“*¡Vamos, rápido!*” the head yelled.

The teen scrambled up the rocks, zipping up his fly. He jumped over the concrete wall and a car screeched off.

The smell of urine brought Manuel back to his senses. He sat up. His head hurt and he was thirsty. He looked up at the lights again. They hurt his eyes. The teenagers had left a half-empty beer bottle on the wall. Slowly, he stood up and climbed up the rocks. He reached up and grabbed the beer, slumped down on the rocks, and drank the beer in one gulp. It was warm and tasted like cigarettes, but it made him feel better.

He looked down the beach, surprised to find his plastic bucket washing around in the shallows. Momentarily hopeful, he walked across the beach and picked it up. Of course, it was empty. He had lost what little he had caught that day. This was his punishment for fishing on *el Día de la Crucifixión*, he thought. Farther up the beach, he saw his canoe. It had washed up on a pile of rocks and now rested there upside down. He walked to it and ran his hands over the bottom, feeling for damage. A hole the size of a small coin had opened in the bow. He would need a patch of tar to fix it well. He pulled the canoe off the rocks and walked up and down the beach looking for his paddle. It wasn't there. It had probably been washed into the bay, and floated somewhere in the dark.

He flipped his canoe over and found the *ataraya* wedged in the stern. Slowly, resting often, he dragged the canoe around to the bay side of the peninsula. He plugged the hole with the wet T-shirt, and shoved off into the bay toward the fishing village. The tide was rising, and the current carried him in the right direction before he slumped back to stare up at the stars. He had stopped feeling the cold while he lay on the beach. He thought about his wife. She would be worried, but not surprised. He thought about the old bay, when it had fish and shrimp in it, and he cried.

When the fisherman sat up again, much later, the tide had carried him up the river past the village. Light was starting to show in the east. His canoe had reached the place in the river where the tidal current met the river current and the water came to a standstill. He was directly in front of a row of shrimp pools. Using his hands, he paddled the canoe to the edge of the river. Carefully, he climbed out of the canoe, and up the steep bank. He stood on the dam that separated the pools from the river, looking out at the pools that were full of water,

and he knew that they were full of shrimp. A bamboo hut, where the guard lived, stood on stilts on the far side. But all the lights were off. Manuel stared at the pools for a long time. Then he turned around to stare at the river. The dead river. For the first time, Manuel had the idea that the pools had stolen the shrimp from the estuary. And then he had another idea that made him giddy.

In a rush, he slid back down the bank, falling the last few feet into the water. Shivering, he splashed up and grabbed his net out of the canoe. He crawled back up the bank, delirious now, and happy. Laughing, he flung the *ataraya*. It circled perfectly over the water and came back filled with shrimp. A pound and a half, he thought. At least. With one toss. He sat down and picked the shrimp out one by one and threw them over his shoulder into the estuary. Then he threw the net again and freed more shrimp. He kept throwing the net and feeding the river until the sun rose over the mountain and the guard came out with his shotgun. Manuel didn't hear the guard yell at him. Three times he yelled.

Manuel also didn't hear the shot that hit him in the chest and knocked him back into the estuary.

Later that day, the guard told the shrimp pool owner, "I tried to shoot him in the legs. I didn't want to kill him."

"Better off dead," the owner said. "It's a good lesson for the other fishermen. I'm just glad you got him before he loaded that boat up with my shrimp," said the owner, handing the guard a small cash bonus.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE GIRLS' OCEAN

Shannon M. Sonenstein
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this project was to attempt to write honestly from a completely different cultural perspective — that of a Samoan girl. Writers are always warned that to write successfully, they need to write what they know. My question was: could I do enough research to be able to write truthfully from a new perspective?

I used participant observation and conducted in-depth interviews as a means of gathering information about Samoan girls in their late teens and early twenties. The result is a collection of short stories that are based on both my interpretations of my informants' experiences, and my own.



PROLOGUE

I have always been fascinated by performance, and the fine line where the written and spoken word blend together. Because the many legends, songs, and history of Samoa are rooted in oral tradition, it is fitting that these pieces are performance oriented. Everything I have written is meant to be read aloud, rolled around on the tongue, played with. It is for the ear as much as for the eye. I tried to follow the pathway that Samoan author Sia Figiel¹ (1996a, 1996b, 1998, 1999) has carved out before me, using her works for inspiration, while at the same time striving to make my own way. This collection marks my attempt to not only bring alive the voices of young Samoans, but to find my own as well.

REFLECTIONS

There's a cracked mirror on the wall over the bed. If I stare at it hard enough, from where I'm standing, the room fills up with me's. Each carbon copy trapped within glass cracks. But, no matter how many I's fill the room, we are still alone.

In Samoa, you are never alone. In Samoa, I am never alone. In Samoa, there are words to prevent me from feeling lonely: *Usō Aiga Lotu Nu'u. Usō Aiga Lotu Nu'u. Usō Aiga Lotu Nu'u.* Like a rhythm for me, for us, to live by. A covenant that says just like no one in this world is born alone, Samoans will never live alone and they'll never die alone. Our old people aren't shut away in homes. Our sick aren't left to rot in hospitals. Once I heard a story about a *palagi* (a White person) who died in a hospital in New York City. Alone. He just slipped through the cracks. And suddenly, I'm afraid I might slip through the cracks. Right through the cracks of a glass mirror.

Mirrors are a funny concept. They're supposed to reflect back who you are. Yesterday, when I looked in the mirror, it showed me someone's sister, daughter, niece, girlfriend. Today, all I see is one person, cracked and split, with five pairs of frightened eyes staring out. In different directions.

Some days I feel I have no direction. I barely remember getting here. Signing papers, saying goodbyes, packing all my possessions into one suitcase. And leaving. I can't remember how many people I've told that this is what I wanted what I dreamed of what I chose. But today, standing in the doorway of this empty bedroom — confronted: By naked walls. Shelves. Desks. And bed — I feel like a sleepwalker who wakes up to find herself far from the safe warmth of her family's bodies. Who wakes up to find herself disoriented. And alone.

I feel completely disoriented. Awash with new sensations. Like guilt. I am so lucky to be here, to be experiencing this, to have this opportunity. The first girl from my *aiga* (Samoan family) to win a scholarship. To leave the island. "It's a big world out there," the old lady says, sewing a 20 *tala* note into the pocket of my shirt. "Take this for emergencies and don't forget who you are — you're a Samoan."

Now, clutching a worthless 20 *tala* note, I stare into the mirror and I wonder what that means. Who am I? What is my legacy? But the mirror remains silent, reflecting back only the distorted image of a girl. Frozen. In an empty doorway.

TOUCH

"Touch me." That's what the *palagi* in the movies say. And it always makes me wonder, wonder what it would be like to have to ask someone. To reach out. To not feel connected. To anyone. To not have sisters to comb my hair and pick out the *uku*. To not have mothers and aunties to give me a quick rap or a shove. Not hard enough to hurt. Hard enough to let me know what I'm doing matters. That I matter. It's tough to imagine not having to carry around somebody's baby. I've always had a weight in my arms, a body linking itself to mine.

Linked. That's how I am with my girlfriends when we *savavali*. Each of us protecting another's arm in the safe circle of her own. That image of a safe circle never leaves me. When I close my eyes at night, I see it imprinted on the backs of my eyelids. Through the dark I feel the soft bodies of my cousins curling into my side. So close, so close their heat intermingles with mine. That's how we live in my family. Intermingled. Sharing our space,

our air, our touch. And it makes sense, because from the beginning of time, that's the way we've healed, through the laying on of hands.

Touch. And I am so very sad for people who don't know what that feels like; what a family feels like. Who go through life having to say, "Touch me."

BEAUTY

Some times the old women would tell us things, in whispers. Secrets. That we were never to fully understand until we looked back and remembered. Years later.

In my clearest memory of my grandmother I am a little, little girl picking the *uku* from her hair the day she decided to tell me the secret. Of beauty. She said beautiful is how a girl moves in the *siva* Samoa. Fluid, but restrained. It's the way a woman holds herself when she walks. Through the village.

Beauty is hospitality. Sharing. Everything. Always. It's the mother with her hand on Lafi Pa'a Kuka's hot forehead. The same woman who spends the day scraping, peeling stirring, boiling, bent over a fire, preparing the food. For us. Beautiful is the *fa'asamoa*. Our way of life.

As I sit by her carefully tended grave so many years later, I can see her in my mind's eye as she looked on that day. The lines on her face, the cracked brown skin, the faded *lavalava*, the missing toenails, and those two large clear eyes. And I know now I was in the presence of beauty.

AFAKASI

I think that most people take belonging for granted. It's not the kind of thing you earn; you're just born into it. Into people who have the same history, traditions, hair, and skin as you. It's not something anyone questions, or even thinks about. Only *afakasi*. Like me.

I think about it every time I walk through Apia and people call me *palagi*. Every time the street kids run after me, trying to sell their matches. Every time people start talking about me in Samoan. Right in front of me. Because they think I don't understand. Every time. Always.

My mom says we're floaters, voyagers like my ancestors, sailing to a new island and starting over again. And maybe, for her, it's like that. Maybe, for her. But I don't come from any place else. I can't adapt when I've never even been given the chance to belong. To anything.

Sometimes I feel like the definition of *afakasi* should be: "trapped between two worlds," between two peoples. Part of both, belonging to neither. And when my grandfather, my very own grandfather, speaks to me slowly, so slowly, because he thinks I don't understand.

Samoan. My first language. When my aunties don't push me to *siva* with the other girls because they assume I don't know how to move that way. Like a Samoan girl. I wonder if I'm going to spend the rest of my life as a visitor in my own home.

But I heard about this other island. It's to the southeast of here. It's a long way off in the distance and no one's ever been there before. No one living now. But that's where we all come from. That's the real homeland. And someday, I'm going to sail back there and claim it. Back to the beginning. Back to where there's a place for everyone. Back to where we can all belong.

MURIEL

Tonight we are all gathered around the video machine my uncle sent from New Zealand last Christmas, watching "*Fa'aipoipoga O Muriel*" (Muriel's Wedding). Sisters, brothers, aunties, babies, uncles, mother, father, and me. All packed against each other. Breathing together. Outside, the doorway is jammed with bodies, noses pressed against our window. People fitting themselves together in the too small space in the too hot air to gawk at the silly *palagi* in her white dress. White. Like her skin. We laugh long and loud when Muriel trips and falls in her fancy clothes. We sing along when "Dancing Queen" comes on. We pepper my sister, Eseta, with questions, because she won the prize in form eight English class. My father ssshing everyone so Eseta can translate the hard parts. "*O le a Eseka?* What happened? What did she say?" And Eseta pausing a moment before answering, just to make sure you really want to know.

Only I know Eseta's full of it. I figured it out. She didn't understand a word more than I did. It's not like Eseta said. Muriel's not dying to get married. Muriel is smarter than that. Smarter. I believe in Muriel because she has red hair and a microwave. Why would Muriel want to be like my sister Sita who's 19 and can't take a shit without asking her husband, Lafi.

When Sita wants to leave the house, she asks Lafi.

When Sita wants to talk to a friend, she asks Lafi.

Sita isn't here tonight because Lafi said, "*No. No Sita. Nofu i le fale.*" But, if she had come, would she tell Muriel what she always tells me: to enjoy the single life for as long as you can? Sometimes I wonder about Sita. I wonder if she feels trapped by her life. By Lafi, Love, Marriage, and her own body. Which swells up bigger and bigger as the days get hotter and hotter. I wonder if she ever wakes up in the night. Struggling just to breathe.

But what Sita does at night remains a mystery. And during the day she will only laugh at me, at my crazy ideas, and tell me it's the *fa'asamoa*. Father is head of the family. Women's bodies and lives are shaped by offspring, sweat, and spouses. That's life. That's our life. But then she adds in a voice only I can hear:

"Stay single as long as you can, Muriel. Stay single as long as you can."

SAVALIVALI

My cousins and I are roaming the village tonight. Looking for excitement. And it's everywhere. Everywhere. Tonight is Thursday night, bingo night. And all our mothers and fathers are at the bingo. Littering the pastor's front lawn with their bodies. Bent in silent concentration over the paper cards that will later decorate the *faleuila*. And that leaves us free. Free to *savavali* with our arms linked. To sing our song at the top of our voices:

Savalivali means go for a walk
Tautalatala means too much talk
Alofa ia te 'oe means I love you
Take it easy *faifai lemu*.

From the darkness of the side of the road voices answer back. "I love you, too, Saronā." "Sala loves Kirifi." The boys own the side of the road at night, sitting in their close talking clusters of threes and fours. Calling to us through the half dark, "I said I love you Saronā!" "Cheeky *tama!*," we shout. Laughing until tears roll down our faces, until we start to sing again. And everyone we meet asks us, "*A e alu I fea?*" As we wind our way up and down the street. And I'm thinking there's nowhere else I'd rather be on these clear nights. Nowhere. When I see Ana drop back a bit and Sione come out of the woods to meet her. And even though I'm laughing and singing, the sides of my eyes are watching them hang farther and farther back until we round the corner and they're gone. Swallowed up. By road. By bushes. By night.

MY SAMOAN FAIRYTALE

Once upon a time there was a universe, and inside that universe there was a planet.

"Planet," I say, pointing to the brightest star in the sky. "Smart girl," he replies. "Someday I'm going to win a scholarship to Fiji, or maybe even New Zealand. Somewhere far away from this island, from this village, from this bush." "Why?" he asks. But his mouth covers mine and I can't answer.

And inside that planet there was an ocean.

"Don't you ever feel trapped by the ocean? Don't you ever wonder what it would be like to fly over it, to get away from this. This role, these rules? This relationship," I add silently. Without pushing him away.

And inside that ocean there was an island.

Tonight I feel like an island. Surrounded by sounds: *ta'avale*, *pua'a*, *sami*, *tamaiti*. Shouts. Singing. And now Sighs. I am being touched on all sides by the leaves of a bush, by the hands of an ocean.

And inside that island there was a village.

I need to see what's outside the village. I want Xena to be my best friend and Hercules to be my boyfriend. I want to know them. I want them to know me. New Zealand. Fiji. Australia. America. I want it. NOW!

And inside the village there was a family.

"Don't you want a family?" His voice for the first time in a while. A family. Yes. Of course. Someday. After New Zealand. After the journey. But not now, not tonight.

And inside the family there was a girl.

But it's as if I'm watching myself. As if I'm floating above another girl, boy, bush. And I wonder how did she lose me? Lose it? The village's dream. The family's dream. And me. My dream too.

And inside that girl there was a baby.

Everyone has a dream.

Once upon a time.

ASO TO'ONAI

It happens every Saturday night. Polishing, slicking, combing, ironing, all to the tune of "Jesus Loves Me," whistled between the teeth. "The boys are getting ready to hit the town to turn Apia upside down." My brother chants softly, studying his reflection in our small family mirror.

And while he chants, my sister begs.

"Please Mom. Please Dad. Can I go for just one night? *Fa'amolemole*. I'm a good girl. You know I'm a good girl." "Exactly," my father says, "You're a girl." And that ends the discussion. Except for tonight. Tonight my sister doesn't go back to her sewing. "But he's younger than me, Dad. He's two years younger. I'll even stay glued to his side. I promise."

"Lagi!" My mother's voice comes like a slap. A warning. My father continues fiddling with the TV, not even looking up. But, it's as if my sister cannot hear, or else she's lost her mind. And all of us stand frozen, waiting for the storm as she continues. "But it's not fair, half my friends are married with babies and I can't go out once. It's not fair that he can stay out, impregnating girls all night if he wants to. I just want to go for one night. One night *fa'amolemole* . . ."

She never finishes as my father very deliberately stands up, turns around, and begins to hit my sister. Slapping her mouth over and over again. "Is that what you want, huh? To go to the nightclub and act like some sort of *pamutu*? All this talk about babies and impregnating. What the hell kind of a girl did I raise? You little slut. Don't you ever talk back to me again. Ever!"

He leaves then. And my sister remains in the middle of the floor. Crumpled. Her mouth bright red, like the lipstick on my brother's collar when he returns. At 4 a.m.

THE OCEAN

In school we learned that most of the earth's surface is made up of water. It's funny to think of it that way because all Mr. Smith, my teacher, the *pisikoa*, ever talks about, focuses on, is the land. I've heard the human body is like that too. Even though I can't see it, can't imagine it, I'm mostly water. Fluid. Flowing. Liquid and changing rather than confined to a solid. Mold. Role. Form. As I've been trained to think.

Do you know what else I learned today? There are more women on earth than men. I told that to my sister and she laughed at me. She asked, "If there are more women, than why do we only learn about men — what they do? what they think?" And I tried to tell her that women must be like the ocean. Deep. Unexplored. Fluid. And it would make sense then that the body's mostly water because that's where we come from.

When I think of my sisters, I think of water. Of nighttime. After supper when we gather under the pipe in the yard and bathe together. All of us sleek and shiny with water. *Lavalavas* clinging, scrubbing our underpants together. Sharing the water and blowing soap bubbles. Helping each other wash our long, long hair. Surrounded always by water.

That's how I think of Samoa too. Of being nourished, washed, wiped clean by the ocean. Kissed on all sides by her waves. Protected from the rest of the world. Safe in the ocean's womb.

That's how I feel after school when all of us girls run to the beach to cool down in our *sami*, our sea. Safe. Protected. Rocked. Calmed. And surrounded . . . by my sisters.

DEVELOPING THE WRITING

INTRODUCTION

Writing about another culture presents the author with the potential trap of misrepresentation. This has been an issue for the Pacific Islands, in particular, as writers of both fiction and nonfiction have often produced false images, guided by their own Western fantasies of the people and their lifestyle. I came to Samoa wanting to write fiction. Not just any fiction but specifically about girls on the brink of adulthood — what they were facing, doing, thinking. I wanted to see Samoa from their perspective and put that perspective into my own words. The result is a series of short sketches based on my personal experiences in Samoa and those of my informants.

METHODS

One of the greatest challenges I faced with this project was trying to write from a completely foreign perspective. And so began the research. I conducted six in-depth interviews with

Samoan girls between the ages of 17 and 22. Four came from Upolu, and two from Savaii. The girls represented a spectrum of different economic and educational backgrounds. The range extended from one who had spent two years studying in New Zealand, to another whose education had ended after secondary school. Although the second girl was a year younger, she was already married and pregnant with her first child. Two other girls I interviewed had entered the workforce. The last two girls were finishing secondary school. They both planned to try for a scholarship to continue their education outside of Samoa. If that did not work, they expressed interest in finding jobs. All of the girls I interviewed, with the exception of the one who was married and the two in secondary school, lived at home with their families. The two students spend the week living in Apia attending school and return home for the weekends.

Interviews usually lasted from one to two hours. They included a variety of questions ranging from, "Tell me about your close female friends," to "What makes a woman beautiful?" I usually let the flow of conversation direct the interview, using a pre-set list of questions as a guide for myself.

I also utilized the method of participant observation to gather the data. I spent 11 days living in the village of Lotofaga with a host family. My ten-plus sisters allowed me to accompany them on their nightly walks, and to be part of their conversation before bed. From them, I was able to gather a more complete picture of what it means to be 20 years old and living in a Samoan village.

PROBLEMS WITH DATA

The sample I interviewed is obviously small, but it provides an in-depth look at the lives of a few individuals. I did not speak Samoan well and the language barrier limited the women I could work with. It restricted me to interviewing only girls with strong enough English skills to communicate their ideas to me. This generally represents a high level of education. In a few of the interviews I conducted, our language differences presented a significant issue. As a result, I am sure I missed some of the subtle undercurrents that exist in every conversation. Going into this project, I foresaw that language might be a problem but I chose not to have a translator. I wanted the information I gathered to be in the girls' own words, not someone else's. I also realized that having a third person present during interviews would change the dynamic of the situation and possibly affect the information I was gathering.

Using my transcribed interviews along with notes I took during my participant observation experiences, I tried to pull out themes. My goal was to let the issues that the girls revealed direct and influence my writing.

Each sketch is written in the first person. This, combined with the fact that certain characters, such as Ana and Sione, reappear throughout different pieces, might lead the reader to believe that this is one girl's story. That is not the case. While writing, I envisioned "I" as a series of girls, rather than an individual. I liked the idea of using certain characters multiple times to further develop them over the course of the collection. All of my "I's" are

connected. I think of them as part of the same *aiga*, telling different aspects of their collective story.

The events portrayed in these stories are my own creations. They are my versions of the lives and feelings of my informants.

EVALUATION

Through this writing I try to offer my reader a window into Samoan culture. These sketches are my attempt to bring to life the issues girls face: pregnancy, violence, sexism, family life, etc. The stories are also meant to be read as a celebration of Samoan culture. It is my hope that between the lines on each page, the reader will be able to catch a glimpse of what it means to be a Samoan girl.

ENDNOTE

1. Sia Figiel is the 1997 recipient of the Asia-Pacific Commonwealth Best First Book of Fiction award for her novel, *where we once belonged*, published in 1996.

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THE DEAD ARISE: CASES OF DEATH AND RETURN IN TIBET

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ABSTRACT

In Tibet it has been known to occur that the body of a deceased person arises, sometimes as much as a week after clinical death. Those on hand, often family or monks reading the death rites, quickly try to determine whether the risen body is a *délog* or a *rolang*. The *délog* is “one who has returned from the dead.” *Délog* have traveled in the *bardos*, the intermediate stages between this life and the next, and have been miraculously allowed to return to life in the same body with knowledge of the *bardos*. *Délog* bring back messages from the dead, descriptions of what they have seen, admonitions from the Lord of Death, and teachings from the pure beings and celestial Buddhas.

The *délog* stories, recorded in autobiographies and biographies, are brought to Tibetan society by *lama manis*. These wandering minstrels use such stories to teach public audiences about the *dharma* (religious customs and rites) and the infallibility of *karma* (the law of spiritual cause and effect): by performing good actions, one attains liberation rebirth in the higher realms; negative *karma*, however, leads to great suffering in the *bardos*. In less desirable cases, the body of the deceased develops strange color in the face, sits up suddenly, and reveals in its eyes the wicked intent of a demon spirit that has taken control of a dead body. This is a *rolang* — “an awakened corpse.”

This paper presents popular and informed beliefs on *délog* and *rolang* and their nature and intentions, informed through conversations with an experienced Tibetan death-rite practitioner.



DEATH AND THE BARDOS

According to Tibetan philosophy, there are four *bardos* or intermediate stages between this life and the next. The deceased move through these *bardos* during a maximum period of 49 days, after which time they are reborn or achieve liberation. The *bardo of dying* marks the beginning of the dying process. In this stage, the outer senses weaken and fail, the body's elements dissolve and, lastly, the inner dissolution of consciousness takes place. It is then that the individual has died (Sogyal Rinpoche 1994, p. 252). In the *bardo of the clear light*, one may achieve liberation from *samsara*, the cycle of rebirth, by recognizing the formless, empty clear light as an emanation of one's own "wisdom mind." It is very difficult to attain the stability of mind to achieve this, and most beings will miss this opportunity for liberation and continue through the remaining *bardos*. In the *bardo of dharmata*, the *bardo being* (*bardo-pa*) sees various colors and lights appear out of the emptiness of the clear light, and the wrathful and peaceful deities are manifest in terrifying splendor. Most of the experiences related by *délog* occur in the last stage, the *bardo of becoming* (*sipa bardo*). In this stage the *bardo-pa* has a mental body but may mistake it for a real body and attempt to eat, drink, or communicate with the living.

Those with a great deal of negative *karma* experience hellish visions and tremendous fear in the fourth stage (*Ibid.*, p. 291). The susceptibility of the *bardo-pa's* mind at this stage means that even a single negative thought can lead directly to rebirth in the lower realms. However, Sogyal Rinpoche (*Ibid.*, p. 294) notes that:

The shifting and precarious nature of the *bardo of becoming* can be the source of many opportunities for liberation, and the susceptibility of mind in this *bardo* can be turned into our advantage. All we have to do is remember one instruction; all it needs is for one positive thought to spring into our mind.



DÉLOG NAMTHAR

Délog are people who die, enter the *bardos*, yet miraculously come back to life. Information on *délog* comes from their own experiences as they relate them upon their return. Their recorded words, called *namthar*, are powerful teaching tools for religious and lay Tibetans. Geshe Dawa, a teacher at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, asserts that *karma* can only be explained by telling life stories (Public Teaching Lecture, April, 2000). *Délog* teach the benefits of the *dharma* and of connections with compassionate teachers, and warn of the dangers of worldly attachments to family, friends, and wealth. They become, in fact, a link between the worlds of the dead and the living. Chagdud Rinpoche describes it this way:

As a child in Tibet, I sometimes found my mother, *Délog* Dawa Drolma, surrounded by an audience listening with utmost attention as she told of her journeys to other realms. Her face was radiant as she spoke of the deities in the pure realms; tears flowed as she described the miseries of hell beings and *pretas*, or tormented spirits. She told of encountering deceased relatives of certain people, and she relayed from the dead to the living concerns about unfinished business (perhaps buried coins or jewels that could not be located) or pleas for prayers and ceremonies [to alleviate the suffering of the hell beings]. (Barron and Chagdud, 1995, p. 1)

Chagdud Rinpoche (*Ibid.*, p. xiv) contends: “Some [*délog*] appeared to be ordinary lay people, but the experience itself is a sign of great meditative realization, so they could not have been truly ordinary.” And Kyabje Song Rinpoche (1979, p. 20) adds that “*Délog* are considered holy in my country.”

Since *délog* are most commonly monks, nuns, or other practitioners, some die during times of spiritual retreat. The *délog* Lama Jampa Delek was on a retreat in the year 1596, as

recorded in his *namthar*, when he lost his bodily warmth and began to spit bloody phlegm. Knowing he was quite ill, he says, “I performed reverential petitions to A-khu Rinpoche and did meditation. In the retreat I did whatever I could within my experience, but I could not control my body, and the stages of dissolution appeared in succession” (Epstein 1982, p. 42).

Shugseb Jetsün Rinpoche (1852-1953) was a famous and accomplished female *délog* and a practitioner of *Nyingma* (the oldest tradition of Tibetan Buddhism). According to one biography, after her initial *délog* experience, she fell ill, died, and returned two more times. She took those opportunities to sharpen her skills in recognizing appearances to be empty (as manifestations of her own mind), therefore preparing herself for liberation from *samsara* (Yeshe and Tsering, p. 141). Khenpo Sangye Wandü (Interview May 1, 2000) explains that some *délog* undergo this process of death and return quite often, and usually on auspicious days of the month.

Délog are also able to return to life. Yangsi Rinpoche and Khamtrul Rinpoche (Interviews April 26, 2000 and April 28, 2000) explained that was possible because a subtle form of consciousness remained even after the body and gross consciousness have separated in the process of death. For this to occur, however, the body of a *délog* must be preserved to allow its consciousness to return. Traditionally, Tibetans were not cremated for at least seven days after death to ensure that the consciousness would not be disturbed as it moved through the *bardos*. In the *namthar* of *Délog* Karma Wangdzin, her relative says, “There are many stories of *délog* like Lingza Chökyi’s, about those who were carried off and returned. I fervently hope she’ll return as well. We’d best leave her body without touching it during the 49 days” (Epstein 1982, p. 67).

STORIES OF *DÉLOG*

Karma Wangdzin first realized she was dead when, “taking some steps up and down, there was no sound of walking. I thought, ‘Alas, I’ve definitely died’” (Epstein 1982, p. 48). Lingza Chökyi, a famous sixteenth century *délog*, narrates her *bardo* experience in the following manner:

My husband and children and all our friends and neighbors from the village came, crying I thought, ‘What are they doing? A curing ceremony? My disease has gotten better. You don’t all have to gather here.’ But they didn’t even toss me a glance and I felt peekish I thought, ‘But I’m not dead! My body is just as it was before Then they made tea and food and invited people in. They gave me nothing I was angry at all of them The suffering of my mind and body was boundless. My mind, not having a body to stay in, was wafted like a feather in the wind, moving to and fro (Epstein 1982, p. 43).

Délog with special faith and merit are able to visit the pure realms of the Buddhas in their *bardo* bodies; there, they are guided by the goddess Tara, an enlightened female being (*dakini*). The *délog* meet various deities and accomplished practitioners. These beings give the *délog* blessings as well as teachings, which *délog* impart upon the living upon their return to the human realm. *Délog* Dawa Drolma meets Guru Rinpoche in his celestial palace *Zangdok Pelri*, where he advises her to: “. . . not forget the ways in which visions of the six classes of beings are manifest for you; return to the human realm and entreat people to pursue virtue” (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 101).

A prevailing aspect of *délog*'s stories is their journey to the lower of the *samsaric* realms — those of the hungry ghosts and the hells. The *délog* witness the severe agonies of the beings who have taken rebirth there, such as those “who had cheated others in business, told lies and blasphemed, who had robbed their helpless elders, spoken ill of or beaten monks, etc.” (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 76). *Délog* may meet monks in the hell realms who have

broken their vows, taken money for rituals but neglected to perform them, rejected their teacher, or caused dissent among the Sangha (community) (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 76).

Délog often give gruesome descriptions of the condition of these unfortunate souls. In the cold hells Jetsün Rinpoche visits, there are “snow and blizzards, beings with bodies as blue as an *utpala* flower and with blisters cracking into a hundred different pieces” (Yeshe and Tsering, p. 138). Two women Dawa Drolma meets had administered poison to a *lama*, seduced monks, and slandered their spiritual superiors. The end result was that their backs were weighed down with boulders of molten metal, their tongues were sliced with iron swords burning with fire, and boiling molten metal was poured into their mouths” (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 77).

These scenes often move *délog* to compassion, and they sometimes try to save hell beings from their tortured existence. When Shugseb Jetsün Rinpoche meditated,

The hell beings’ shrieks and screams slowly quieted down until all became silent and they sat still with their hands folded, an infinite crowd of beings, stretching as far as Lochen’s eyes could see . . . gradually the remaining sufferings of the beings before her vanished Lochen prayed and meditated even harder and many of the creatures who appeared before her died and took birth in better realms (Yeshe and Tsering, p. 138).

Eventually, *délog* undergo judgment in the court of the Lord of Death, also known as the King of Religion (*Dharmaraja*, or *Chögyäl*). *Dharmaraja* holds the mirror of *karma*, *Lekimelong*, in which the deceased clearly sees his or her previous good and bad deeds. White and black beings attest to one’s actions, casting white and black stones on the scales of justice. *Dharmaraja* then gives his sentence, and the being is whisked away to rebirth in one of the six realms of *samsaric* existence.



Figure 2. *Dharmaraja* (Inoue 1981)

Despite his terrifying and wrathful appearance, the Lord of Death is a fair judge. He “continually reminds those that come before him not to be afraid of him, that if one has done virtues to balance sin every action will be considered in the defendant’s favor” (Epstein 1982, p. 72). Dharmaraja tells one *délog* that “between the high king seated on his throne and the lowly beggar leaning on his staff — for these two there is not a hair’s worth of ‘high’ and ‘low’ in my presence, so come to me having practiced the virtue of the *dharma* [religion]” (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 76).

The judgment a *délog* receives is unique, because he or she is sent back to the realm of the living to resume life in the same body. It is the *délog*’s positive *karma*, actions embodied with compassion, that allows them to extend their natural lifespan and return to life. Kyabje Song Rinpoche (1979, p. 20) teaches that “if [both] one’s lifespan and merits have been depleted then nothing can save one from death If there is a residue of good *karma* and the lifespan is exhausted, then the lifespan can to some extent be easily restored. People having such residues can be brought back to life, even if they die of sickness.” As Dharmaraja said to *délog* Karma Wangdzin, “Because of the benefits of the power of your previous prayers and virtues, you will return to your body in the human realm” (Epstein 1982, p. 55).

One commonly cited reason for the *délog*’s return is so that they can benefit human beings by sharing their story of death and return. Khamtrul Rinpoche (Interview April 28, 2000), a personal teacher to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, tells that *délog* “with the greatest accumulation of merit through aspiration, prayer, and compassion,” will be able to maintain the stability of mind such that when they return as *délog* they will have the ability to benefit others. As White Tara says of Dawa Drolma, she “encountered unfathomable realms of pure vision. If she goes back to the world of humans, she can tell of the moral choices of accepting virtuous actions and rejecting harmful ones. She can turn the minds of sentient beings. She can accomplish immeasurable benefit for them” (Barron and Chagdud 1995, p. 38).

Today, many Tibetans believe that there are few people in this degenerate age who accumulate enough merit to become *délog*. Yangsi Rinpoche (Interview April 26, 2000) wrote that, “in ancient times, people were honest and ethical. They had respect for and a close connection to Mother Nature. So they had a background of strong merit. Even if a person died, due to strong *karma* they had the chance to extend their life.”

Rigzen Chösang, the only living disciple of *délog* Jetsün Rinpoche, believes that this process no longer occurs (Interview May 27, 2000). Ngakpa Kālsang, a lay *Tantric* practitioner who performs death rituals, explains that today bodies are cremated after only three days, before they begin to smell, so *délog* are no longer possible (Interview May 5, 2000). And, in fact, Khamtrul Rinpoche (Interview April 28, 2000) has not heard of any *délog* anywhere in the world since a generation ago. In 1979, however, Kyabje Song Rinpoche (1979, p. 19), writes in his teaching that “in the case of men, there are many *délog* who return into the body after death, especially in Kham [an outlying region of Tibet].” And Alag Rinpoche (Interview April 29, 2000) of Amdo, Tibet, maintains that “it is still very common in Tibet today.”

WANDERING *BARDOS*

The most vivid explication of *délog* themes and biographies is found in the performances of *lama manis*, wandering minstrels who travel around, teaching at public gatherings. Even those with little education can learn about human evolution by learning about their teachings on hell, enlightenment, the *bardos*, and *karma* (Khenpo Pema Sherab Interview May 4, 2000). In particular, *lama manis* preach the benefits of the *Om mani padme hung mantra* (hence the name '*lama mani*'), quoting from the songs of the yogi Milarepa or from various epics and *délog namthar*. *Lama manis* also pray and perform *pujas* (worship rituals) for families in the community.

Traditionally, *lama manis* have a *thangka*, a religious iconographic scroll painting to supplement their teachings. With a stick, they point out specific scenes on the *thangka* as they sing their stories and teachings. In the past, most performed their stories from memory, but later *lama manis* began reciting relevant texts along with the *thangkas*. Often *délog* become *lama manis*. Rinchen Drolma Tsering (1970, p. 49) writes of *Délog Jetsün Rinpoche's* experiences as a *lama mani*:

From the age of six she preached with a *thangka*, by singing of religion in a wonderfully melodious voice, and whoever heard her found their hearts coming closer to religion. As a child she had a little goat to ride When in her youth she went along in the streets of Lhasa . . . preaching from door to door, she caught the hearts of many Lhasa girls who became nuns and followed her.

Today, Puchen Gyurme (Interview May 9, 2000) is one of only three *lama manis* in India; he presently lives in a Tibetan settlement in Dehradun, located in the northern Indian state of Uttaranchal (formerly Uttar Pradesh). At the age of eight, he began to study about Chenresig, the Buddha of Compassion. He began his life as a *lama mani* at the age of 13 and he is now 71 years old. "There isn't a place in India I haven't been," he proudly said, showing me a stack of official papers from the Tibetan settlements he visited. In June 2000, he traveled to Washington, D.C. to perform at a Tibetan Festival.

Puchen has 18 texts and 9 *thangkas* which he uses to perform. He can recite one text using one *thangka* in a single day, but the telling of some epics can last for days.

The role of the *lama mani*, Puchen says, is to obtain instructions from a high *lama* and then to put what is learned to use in public gatherings. *Lama manis* are, in popular belief, manifestations of Chenresig, the Buddha of Compassion. Because of this, they enjoy a special connection with His Holiness, the XIVth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, also an emanation of Chenresig. Presently, Puchen says, a *lama mani* must go to the Dalai Lama for such instructions. "There is no way to understand the *dharma* without relying on Tenzin Gyatso," he asserts.

In *délog* Chaträl Kunga Rangdrol's *namthar*, Dharmaraja tells him:

Give this advice to the *mani-pas* [*lama manis*] of the world! First, ask instruction from teachers, disciples, and *lamas*. Then turn the kingdom to the *dharma*. Those who tell of Jinla Laga, Sugkyi Nyima, Nangsa Öbum, the royal histories and the Buddha's deeds; those that tell the biographies of Gomchung Karma Wangdzin, Padma, Tenzin Chödrön and Lingza Chökyi's messages; do not exaggerate what is in them. Say *manis* with your body, speech, and mind. If you look at [some *lama manis*] exteriorly, they are *mani-pas*, if [you look at them] interiorly, they are like parrots. [A proper *lama mani*] need not be ashamed when he comes before me (Epstein 1982, pp. 56-7).

Because of this advice, Puchen is hesitant to “summarize briefly” the Karma Wangdzin *namthar* he has before him, which is two generations old. “It's important that I follow the text. There is an adage that says if one misuses or elaborates, it is not a good commentary.”

Puchen finds it difficult to convince Western people of “these things,” like *délog* and the 18 hot and cold hells, especially, he thinks, because of the language barrier. With the right language to convey it, though, he believes that Westerners can be convinced. *Délog* doesn't happen “in just one community — it happens all over the world.” Puchen then notes that “sometimes it's difficult to see [when the body revives] if it is a *délog* or a *rolang*.”

ROLANG — THE AWAKENED CORPSE

When a corpse begins to arise, “usually a *lama* must be called in to confirm the adventures of the *délog* as authentic, in order to insure that a dangerous spirit has not taken control of the corpse” (Epstein 1982, p. 58). The Tibetans interviewed, distinguished *délog* and *rolang* by the inner motivations of each and by the appearance and behavior of the revived body. *Délog* return to the body because of their aspirations or orders to benefit sentient beings. *Rolang* are negative or evil spirits that have only a desire to harm. *Délog* return to life gently and recover as a person normally does from an illness. When the *rolang* arises, however, “it is usual for the head to slowly move. The body takes a peek to see if anyone is watching. Then it opens both eyes and stands up” (Song Rinpoche, 1979, p. 11).

Song Rinpoche (*Ibid.*, p. 20) maintains, however, that “we cannot tell for certain whether it is the genuine consciousness of the dead person or that of some other spirit.” He contends that some *rolang*, for example, “enter bodies and relate everything about the activities of the dead person in just the same fashion as he himself would tell it if he were alive” (*Ibid.*, p. 11).

In *délog* stories there is usually some initial apprehension on the part of onlookers. Karma Wangdzin recalls in her *namthar* that her “body moved a little . . . and made the curtain covering her face sway. The monk [standing watch and performing rites] thought, ‘Is this not a zombie [*rolang*] possessed by a powerful *gyälpo* demon, who wants to do harm?’” (Epstein 1982, p. 54). When *délog* Nangsa Öbum arose after being dead for a week, “some said that the apparition was not Nangsa but a [*rolang*] and would not go near it, others determined to stone her.” She called out, “Do not fear, I am no zombie but really have come back to life” (Dorjey and Wynniatt-Husey, no date given, pp. 332-3).

Once arisen, *rolang* have particular abilities and qualities, and there are various methods of prevention and destruction available to the *rolang*’s potential victims. *Rolang* are said to move only in a straightforward direction and cannot bend at the knees. They can kill others and often make other people into *rolang* as well by touching them. Song Rinpoche (1979, p. 11) wrote that “. . . people die instantly when the *rolang* says ‘Ha!’ If it cannot kill then it tries to damage. It hits people or breathes on them, and they may die.”

Tibetans speak of four types of *rolang*. *Rüläng* are “bone-*rolang*,” *draklang* are “blood-*rolang*,” *wüläng* are “breath-*rolang*,” and *mewaläng* are “mole-*rolang*.” A *rüläng* can be destroyed by breaking its leg bone; a *draklang* must be made to bleed; and the *wüläng* must be suffocated. The *mewaläng* is the most difficult *rolang* to destroy as one must find a mole on its body and find a way to cut it out. However, in many stories the *rolang* is defeated by other more simple means, such as by chanting *mantra* (a mystical formula of invocation or incantation) while whipping or hitting the *rolang*, or by pushing its head back down before it fully arises. It has been said that “. . . if you spit before a *rolang* can breathe on you, then it cannot harm you” (Song Rinpoche 1979, p. 13).

Rolang may also be destroyed by a “severance” ritual and *phowa*, the forceful ejection of the *rolang*’s consciousness into other realms. A *rolang* may also be buried or cremated (with urgency). A simpler prevention is to construct a short doorway and a tall step at one’s threshold. The *rolang*, unable to bend at the knees, will hit its head on the door and be unable to step over the threshold. Yangsi Rinpoche (Interview April 26, 2000) adds that Tibetan nomads keep two large objects on either side of their tent doorway, connected by a stick. Alag Rinpoche (Interview April 29, 2000) also remembers holes in his door in Tibet so that one could poke a stick through to ward off a *rolang* attack.

Though Tibetans laugh when the subject of *rolang* is mentioned today, they love to share stories and beliefs about *rolang*. Pema-la, Kelsang Dolkar, and Khenpo Pema Sherab (Interviews May 2000) said they used to know many *rolang* stories but have since forgotten them. It is common in these stories to tell about *rolang* assaulting travelers. For example, the secret autobiography of His Holiness the VIth Dalai Lama tells how he subdued two *rolang* while traveling in the Mön region. Using his *tantric* ritual dagger, he was able to pin the *rolang* down on the ground. He and his companions then destroyed the *rolang* by smashing their bones with rocks (Tenzin Sepak, Interview April 25, 2000).

The rapid multiplication of *rolang* in an enclosed monastery or village is another common theme. Yangsi Rinpoche (Interview April 26, 2000) told the story of a monastery where a *rolang* was locked inside with the monks. The *rolang* attacked and soon most of the monks became *rolang* or were killed by *rolang*. The people outside thought to dig a large hole, so that when they opened the gate, the unharmed monks could run around the hole while the *rolang*, who walk only in straight paths, fell into the hole.

Rolang beliefs vary considerably in different regions of Buddhist Asia. A Bhutanese abbot told me that *rolang* is hereditary and that if a man's body is taken and becomes *rolang*, not only will his wife become *rolang* at death, but his children also. He says that *rolang* only operate from dusk till dawn; when the sun rises they stand still wherever they happen to be. The great-grandmother of another Tibetan acquaintance said that when a cat licks the heel of a corpse, that body also becomes a *rolang*. Alag Rinpoche (Interview April 29, 2000) of Amdo, thought that *rolang* can also gain the ability to fly.

According to Song Rinpoche (1979, p. 14), the purpose of these *rolang* stories is the following:

. . . to keep you amused, as well as to show that this body of ours which we cherish so much can come under the control of others after we die. It is our excessive craving that gave us a body in the first place, yet this body has no real loyalty to us in return.

NGAKPA KÄLSANG

In Tibet, there were once many *Ngakpas* who were able to transfer the consciousness of the *rolang* to a different realm or to destroy them (Alag Rinpoche, Interview April 29, 2000).

Ngakpa Käsang has performed death rites for Tibetans in his community for over 40 years (Interview May 5, 2000). A *Ngakpa* is a *tantric* lay practitioner (i.e., one who adheres to certain vows that help to integrate all aspects of one's life into spiritual practice), typically of the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism, and one who is highly specialized in various and secretive rituals. These rituals include those to subdue the evil spirits in a region, to influence the elements, and to perform death rituals and other forms of worship (*Ngakpa* Karma Londrup, Interview May 4, 2000).

When performing death rites, *Ngakpa* Käsang, a respected and popular *Ngakpa* in his community, typically stays up throughout the night in a room with the corpse and reads the *Bardo Thödrol*, the Book of Liberation, which details for the deceased person's consciousness what attitudes to take, what to remember, where to go, and so on, in order to guide him through the *bardos*. "Reading the *Bardo Thödrol* is like pulling the reins of a horse," he explained. "The horse is made to go in one direction. In this case, you pull the reins so that the horse [i.e., the deceased] will go to the heavens and not to the hells." *Ngakpa* Käsang

estimates that he has presided over more than 1,000 corpses. During this time, however, he has witnessed only two cases of *rolang*.

In one instance, after four days of performing a death ritual in Nepal, *Ngakpa* Kālsang (Interview May 5, 2000) removed the corpse's face cover and found that its eyes were wide open. He narrated the series of events as follows:

“The face looked quite fresh, but it was a blackish blue color. At that time there were three of us *Ngakpas*, but the other two ran away out of fear. They had seen the eyes and the face of the corpse. I even ran away, but only a little bit. I gave it a second thought: if I let this one go, then the whole area would fill up with *rolang*! So I went back. I found a shirt in the room and bound the corpse's face. The corpse had long hair, so I put my knee on its shoulder blade, and pulling by the hair and pushing again, I broke its neck. Then I bound the legs behind its head. Before there was no sign of blood, but soon the entire floor was covered in blood. I carried the body on my back, as the cemetery wasn't far, and when we got there I removed the shirt and found that the eyes had closed and the face looked like a real corpse. This case was a *draklang*, because the blood came out all over the place.”

Ngakpa Kālsang took a vow that he would perform death rituals any time he was called on, understanding that death was the saddest event that people deal with and therefore they should never be ignored or refused by those designated to help. When the Tibetans were first exiled in the 1960s, most were very poor and lived in tents. “Many people died,” *Ngakpa* Kālsang said, “so every day I did *puja* (magic or worship) for at least one body. When I was 30 or 40 years old, I could stay awake for two or three nights reading the *Bardo Thödröl* without sleeping. Now I'm 72, so I fall asleep sometimes.”

TRONGJUG: THE TRANSFERENCE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

A corpse can be taken by an evil spirit and become a *rolang*, but a body may also be taken by a living Tibetan master through the practice of *trongjug*. The great Nyingma master H.H. Dingo Khyentse Rinpoche explained that “the practice of transference is quite special. If someone is very old and will not live much longer, but still wishes to continue his *dharma* practice and help others, then he can enter a fresh corpse that is young, strong, and healthy” (Heruka 1986, p. 94). Khenpo Pema Sherab (Interview April 5, 2000) recounted that “a long time ago when people would die, an old man who was honest and good would transfer into a young corpse” to avoid the disruption of one's consciousness which occurs when transferring from one life to the next.

Allegedly, *trongjug* is no longer practiced today. *Ngakpa* Karma Londrup (Interview May 4, 2000) noted that the transmission from teacher to student has been disrupted and so the lineage of that teaching did not continue. He was referring specifically to the time of Marpa Lotsawa, a great Tibetan master. Marpa obtained secret oral instructions on the ejection and transference of consciousness (*phowa* and *trongjug*) from his master Naropa (Heruka 1996, p. 155). Marpa transmitted these secret doctrines to his son Tarma Dode, who later died suddenly. In Marpa's biography it is explained that "since the instructions of the ejection and transference of consciousness that bring enlightenment without effort in meditation were not destined to spread in Tibet, they could not find even one male corpse without a wound" (Heruka 1986, p. 171).

In one well known story, the Indian pandit Shankaracharya, was challenged to a debate on sensual love. Being celibate, he was at a disadvantage. The idea then came to him to practice transference, and he assumed the body of a recently deceased king. The king's body arose and he called all his handmaidens and consorts to his bedroom, where his lessons commenced. Returning to his own body the next day, Shankaracharya was then in a position to argue and win the debate (Evans-Wentz 1958, p. 257).

Abuses of such a highly developed *tantric* practice are further illustrated by the story of a prince and his servant who both knew the practice of *trongjug*. One day the prince transferred his consciousness, out of compassion, into a mother bird which he had seen die, so that he could feed its chicks. He asked the servant to watch over his deserted body, but the servant who was attracted to the prince's wife, took the prince's body. The prince then had no choice but to take the body of the servant (Khenpo Pema Sherab, Interview May 4, 2000).

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to classify *délog* and *rolang* beliefs or even to assess the degree to which they are folk tales, ghost stories, science, religious commentaries, epics, or mere entertainment. Perhaps they contain elements of all of the above.

Today, the presence of *lama manis* and stories of contemporary *délog* are exceedingly rare in Tibet. Many Tibetans attribute the decline of *délog* to what they perceive as the degenerate times in which we now live. Though presumably all Tibetans know of *délog*, they are rarely mentioned by name, and few individuals thought that these phenomena were still possible in our times.

The *lama mani* profession, nonetheless, is an effective way to teach the *dharma*, as well as representing a fascinating cultural phenomenon. Hopefully, this rich tradition will not disappear and it will be passed on to future generations of Tibetans both in Tibet and in exile. Beyond the fascination of the *délog* and *rolang* phenomena themselves, however, they provide an unusually revealing perspective on one aspect of life — and death — which Tibetan Buddhism has so deeply embraced in its philosophy and in practice.

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CASE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

PARTICIPATION FOR POSITIVE CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF INTRA-CITY RELATIONSHIPS IN BULAWAYO

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Study Abroad Participant, Zimbabwe, Spring 2000

ABSTRACT

The Bulawayo Upcoming Traders Association, a Zimbabwean association of informal market entrepreneurs, works in partnership with the traders it represents and the Bulawayo City Council in an effort to better market working conditions. This paper analyzes the issues and situations facing the traders, and tracks what is being done in the city via a framework of collaborative relationships. This framework encourages a holistic approach to development initiatives and, in a relatively short period, has proven successful by addressing issues concerning the market infrastructure, implementing business development classes, and giving traders a representative voice in determining their livelihoods.



INTRODUCTION

The Bulawayo Upcoming Traders Association (BUTA) is redefining the practices of grassroots development. As an organization of micro-entrepreneurs in the informal markets of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, BUTA is forging intra-city relationships and thereby creating a framework of participation, in an attempt to effect positive change in the micro-economic climate and infrastructure. This new concept of development by participation is based on the contributions of the entire community, including the traders, the Association, and Bulawayo City Council members. It is the community that initiates, implements, and benefits from projects aimed at strengthening the informal market of goods and services, as facilitated by BUTA. By better understanding these relationships, the efforts and productivity of all three parties can increase.

This study provides insight into the situations and issues facing the participants in the informal market sector. It analyzes work done by the various community actors as it relates

to the Association. And, finally, evaluative statements based on these measures conclude the study.

The information for this paper was collected over a four-week period in April and May of 2000. Data were obtained through personal observations, interviews, and conversations with informal market traders, members and executive committee representatives of BUTA (who are themselves traders), and local city government employees.

BACKGROUND

The formation of Bulawayo's informal market took place prior to Zimbabwean independence in 1980. Historically, this market was unregulated and open to anyone wishing to engage in the trade of goods and services, ranging from the sale of fruits and vegetables, cosmetics, clothing, and machine parts, to watch and television repairs, and the manufacture of chairs, door frames, and carts. Since that time, the size and importance of this market to the local economy has steadily increased in response to a worsening national economic climate.

As the formal economy was unable to maintain steady employment, laid off workers were subsequently forced to find other means of sustaining a livelihood. As a result, in the early 1990s the Zimbabwean government began implementing an Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) in an attempt to counter the poor economic conditions. By 1992, the size of the informal market had surged to unprecedented levels due in part to a failed ESAP and a severe drought, thus raising official unemployment rates to 60 percent.

In an effort to support this improvisational workforce, legislators in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city, deregulated official trade laws that previously prohibited vendors from selling wares in the streets. Stands, blankets, carts, and makeshift stalls sprang up in and around Bulawayo, offering consumers a wide choice of goods and services. At the same time, however, and particularly in the city center, this development caused a great deal of conflict. Traders often set up their wares on sidewalks and in the streets in front of established stores, thereby increasing the overall market competition, occasionally harassing consumers, crowding the sidewalks, and creating a sense of disorder in the city.

The local government, guided by the Bulawayo City Council (BCC), took notice of the situation and realized that changes had to be made for the sake of the community as a whole, while also considering the survival needs of these unemployed but resourceful Bulawayo citizens. In 1996, in consultation with the public and the traders, the BCC established designated marketplace areas around the city, where "bays" or stall grids were marked off. The traders that had previously been on the sidewalks and in the streets were then moved to individual bays, for which they paid monthly maintenance fees to the BCC, thus restoring order to the city.

Within the markets, and in this new styled economy, the traders realized the need to have their interests represented beyond that which the BCC provided. Occasionally, hooligans and

even police harassed them when local economic conditions continued to decline. In 1995, the Bulawayo Informal Traders Association (BITA) and the United Informal Traders Association (UITA) were each formed by groups of local traders to act in a representative capacity. By 1997, when it became evident that these two associations were performing similar duties, both entities merged to form the Interim Committee of Informal Traders Association in Bulawayo (ICITAB). For two years, during which time they received assistance from the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), ICITAB remained the precursor structure for what would, in November 1999, become the Bulawayo Upcoming Traders Association (BUTA).

During a three-day meeting, the structure of the association was solidified, the members elected a volunteer executive committee and member representatives, and they outlined their constitution. The BUTA preamble reads as follows:

The Bulawayo Upcoming Traders in the Informal Sector have agreed to constitute an Association that seeks to develop and protect its members and their businesses and ensure that they are accorded the dignity they deserve under conditions which are conducive to a better business environment (BUTA 1999).

The Preamble outlines the association's objectives; these included: fostering positive working relations with the responsible authorities, improving the lifestyle of members, and developing good business habits and opportunities for financial growth. Rather than address specific and isolated issues, BUTA recognized that a holistic approach was needed to bring about meaningful and positive change in their market environment. This included collaboration with other community sectors, seen as essential for dealing with issues that involved entities outside of BUTA. By May 1, 2000, BUTA membership rose to over 800 traders.

FINDINGS

According to the traders, their most pressing issue was the exceedingly poor economic climate. Up until the early 1990s, even if a factory or large business were closing, market conditions were still allowed fashioning a livelihood on an individual or familial basis. Since that time, however, the economy continued to worsen and it took an acute plunge in December 1999. Concomitantly, national petroleum prices skyrocketed because of a shortage of financial reserves. Moreover, government funds allocated for petroleum purchase were lost to corruption. This raised the cost of transporting goods to the market (e.g. fruits and vegetables from rural to urban areas), thus affecting the wholesale cost of the goods and ultimately the price to the consumer. The consumer, whose wages had remained steady, was able to buy less after the price hikes, leading to decreased income for the informal entrepreneur.

The second most commonly discussed topic during interviews with traders concerned the lack of shelter in the physical environment of the market. During the summer, frequent rains damaged products and resulted in miserable working conditions. During the rest of the year, the hot sun damaged many food products left in direct light. In an effort to improve their condition, the entrepreneurs erected makeshift shelters with plastic or cardboard covering their bay spaces. However, this served only as a temporary solution since the plastic cracked in the hot sun, and the cardboard became soggy in the rain. There was clearly a need for a more permanent solution.

In addition to issues of shelter and the economic climate, the traders also revealed problems concerning the Bulawayo City Council in their interviews. These included their sense that rental fees for the bays were too high, that the government was being overly regulatory of the marketplace by prohibiting entrepreneurs from actively seeking customers (i.e. walking with merchandise in hand and straying outside the boundaries of the bays), and that the BCC often dismissed the traders' concerns and treated their representatives as inferiors.

Inasmuch as the traders' concerns became those of their Association, the organization itself had notable problems. First, BUTA desperately needed funding to further its mission. Membership dues were insufficient to maintain its activities. Due to a lack of investment capital, a scheme for a self-sustaining income generation project had yet to be initiated. Second, although BUTA had roughly 800 members, even more were needed to bolster the strength of their representation. Increased membership would give the Association a wider representative authority, endowing the traders' lobbying effort with more power at the government level.

Lastly, while the Bulawayo City Council, as a representative governing entity, had the responsibility to foster development of the informal market, it also had to be responsive and mindful of all parties in the municipality — both formal and informal entrepreneurs, consumers, the general public, and visitors. Despite limited resources, the BCC was required to provide various services and maintenance projects in order to keep the city in working condition. Thus, a rental fee was levied on each bay space. A mid-range monthly payment of Z\$172 comes to less than Z\$6 per day, half the cost of a one-way commute into the city. Even if each of the traders made only Z\$200 profit in a day (as most did), the BCC felt the fee was reasonable providing traders set aside this money each day throughout the month, rather than dipping into the last day's profits for the total amount. This fee supported the maintenance of painted boundaries, garbage removal, policing, and bathhouse and water maintenance. While these services may not have been obvious to the traders, they were provided without profit by the government. Moreover, these service fees were the only ones levied on the micro-businesses.

According to one government official, in order to make changes to the informal marketplace, the local government would have to adhere to an established routine such that departments such as Engineering and Health would be regularly consulted on project proposals to ensure safe implementation and intended results. In this light, the BCC tried to

support the informal market sector, while maintaining some dialog with the public. It was reported, however, that BUTA delegates were occasionally too adversarial in meetings, impeding effective communication and work between the Association and the BCC.

RELATIONSHIPS

Although BUTA, the BCC, and the traders each had issues to resolve, as entities they were highly interconnected. The BUTA Constitution (1999) stipulates the need to “promote cooperation with legal government and central government departments, ministries, and officials so as to ensure optimum support, legislative assistance, and understanding with such authorities.” The Association realized that such relationships were necessary to develop the Bulawayo informal market in a positive manner. In this context, the BCC, BUTA, and the traders all fulfilled the roles of a participatory framework of dialog and engagement among the local government, the non-governmental organization, and the entrepreneurs, designed to ensure that the levels of the local popular livelihood were raised. These relationships are illustrated in a framework shown in Figure 1 below:

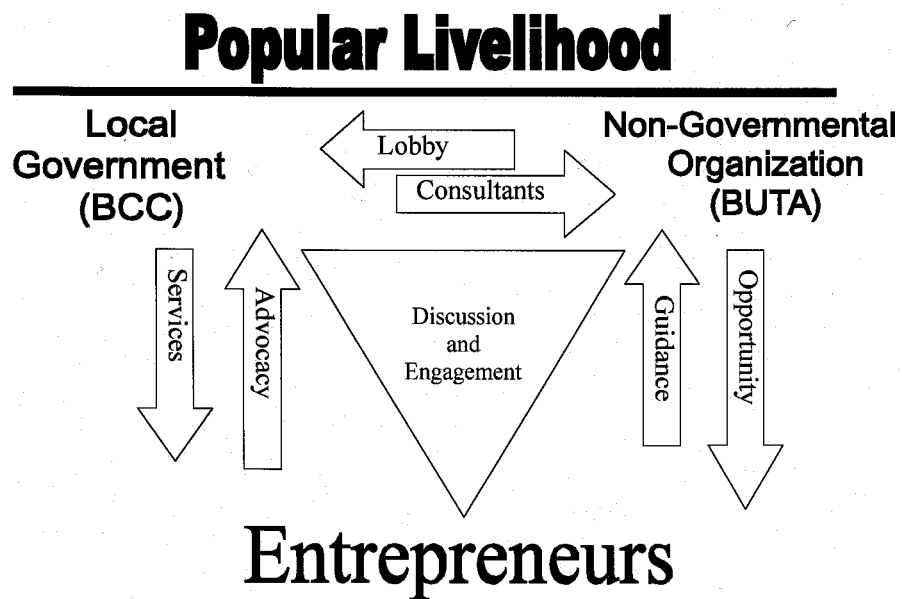


Figure 1.

This framework shows the ideal of positive and interactive relationships existing between each party. And, in fact, a link of guidance and reciprocation exists between the traders and BUTA. The traders determine the activities and priorities of their Association and, in return, BUTA, as an NGO, brings opportunities and change that benefit the Association members. Between BUTA and the BCC, BUTA acts as the “mouthpiece” of the people, discussing with and lobbying the local government on behalf of the traders. The BCC in turn consults both BUTA as an acting representative and the traders themselves to appropriately structure policies and projects for the market’s benefit. By advocating the support of the governing body, the traders maintain the focus of the BCC on continued market development.

RESULTS

Despite economic conditions, the traders have persevered and continue to strive for a better livelihood. When compared to the lives the traders led in 1990, a few had more money, the majority had less; but all had, nonetheless, continued pushing forward in order to survive. Many traders in the informal market have gone beyond mere survival and empowered themselves through membership in BUTA in hopes of gaining support for their business activities. Their dialog and guidance have indeed driven the activities of the Association and brought marked results.

As an association, BUTA has done much to utilize its relationships to bring positive change to the market. Activities in progress at the time of this study included the following:

1) Initiated by the Association, the local traders have established good rapport with local authorities who assisted them in matters concerning the market. Dialog transpires between government officials and BUTA executive committee members through city council meetings and engagements with representatives of the Housing and Community Services Department, under the BCC. Although the local government regards the Association as a partner in the field, regular discourse and consultation have yet to be established. Initially, it seems that only a few tangible results, such as the erection of a pavilion in one area of the market, have resulted from this relationship so far. However, the fact that the framework exists and is growing stronger, provides a solid base upon which to strengthen future dialog.

2) Within BUTA's first six months of activity, the Micro and Small Scale Enterprise Promotion Programme (MISSEP) and the One Up Business Training Trust (two local non-governmental organizations), have worked with the Association to provide several free two-week business management and skills training courses for the executive committee and other members. This training was then taught informally to other Association members who were unable to attend. Although the results might not have been very tangible, the traders increased their awareness of the markets and entrepreneurship, enabling more participation in upgrading the popular livelihood.

3) Occasionally, traders were harassed by random hooligans or municipal police in the market. In unjustified cases of ware confiscation, BUTA legally represented its harmed member in seeking redress or settlement. At times, traders held a bay space but walked around the area actively seeking customers. In these instances, when they felt too restrained by city ordinances and forced to trade by methods which took them out of the bay spaces, BUTA consulted with local authorities to change either the law or the situation to accommodate better the traders' needs.

4) Finally, the Association has begun seeking means for securing bulk loans for distribution to BUTA members. It is the hope of the executive committee to provide micro-credit at an affordable rate to members and to discourage the use of established micro-finance institutions that generally require exorbitant interest rates. This initiative is still in its early

stages, so although micro-credit has the potential to be very helpful in raising livelihoods, no benefits have yet been realized.

The Bulawayo City Council also utilizes its relationships to carry out projects and initiatives to improve the informal sector. At the time of this writing, the BCC is working with BUTA to reposition groups unsatisfied with their placement in one of the market spaces around the city. One case concerns watch vendors who traditionally walked the streets or stood on corners to sell their wares. When the BCC assigned them to a specific site, their business plummeted. To remedy the situation, BUTA, the BCC, and the watch traders, came up with an alternative site more suitable for successful vending.

The BCC is also investigating the need for shelters and has already erected a pilot structure to test the design and style. In addition, the local government is considering the prospects of working with advertisers to construct shelters, thereby cutting costs to the government and allotting space to ad agencies. Progress on this issue is slow, however, and mass production of shelters has not yet taken place despite the importance of the matter.

Many, if not all, of these activities have come about because various groups spoke up, listened, and responded. And this is precisely how the participatory framework operates. As a result, conditions certainly are changing and will continue to do so to suit the needs of the informal market within the larger context of the community in which it operates.

LOOKING AHEAD

Many aspects of the participatory framework proved fruitful during the first six months of BUTA's activity. Yet, some aspects of the relationship needed to be improved. Insofar as the traders were concerned, there could have been more participation, and more action and support in terms of their relations with BUTA and the BCC. For example, one young woman faithfully paid her dues to BUTA, but never attended any of the meetings, nor did she take any of the training courses. The traders need to understand that "they" are the Association. Even the more active members need to realize that the Association is akin to an empty box: they can take from it only if they have first put something in it. If one person does not speak up to contribute his/her input, that person will probably not receive much assistance. The Association is not a typical development assistance organization that doles out food or inputs for income-generating projects. Rather, it is a community group in which some degree of personal initiative is required to first, generate outcomes of the endeavors and, second, to then take the individual's share of the potential benefits.

In addition, the traders and BUTA need to understand that the BCC is accountable to the entire community. The bureaucratic procedures that it follows only lengthen the time it takes to reach decisions or start projects, but they also uphold safeguards for the city. This is a sound tradeoff: including the advice and input of all appropriate authorities may well prevent the implementation of government projects that are unilaterally decided upon and potentially counter-productive or underutilized by the community.

To accompany this understanding, BUTA members also need to refine their interpersonal communication skills. The BCC official interviewed for this paper mentioned that BUTA delegates were sometimes overly aggressive in meetings. In another interview, an Association member recounted that BUTA members often took a confrontational stance when meeting with members of the larger business community. If one does not understand the reasoning or conditions behind another's actions, it could be quite easy to misconstrue intentions and act out in anger. Members of BUTA, therefore, need to learn how to enter dialogs with an open mind, with the intention of coming to mutual understandings, being prepared to speak, and, more importantly, to listen. Understanding the roles and motivations of another party is essential for making a participatory framework function to the best of its capability. The essence behind participation is the strategy of working together.

The success BUTA has already attained came about because members united in their cause for change. As BUTA expands its networking ties, an understanding of this concept needs to be broadened to include not just the BCC, but all members of the formal markets, the public, and other organizations too. In turn, BUTA representatives should educate the Association members on how and why the BCC carries out its projects. By understanding the local government's rules and procedures, BUTA members will be in a better position to advance their own ideas regarding the development of the market infrastructure.

With regard to BUTA program initiatives, it is essential to keep up with the business training courses, making sure all members have access to the knowledge that can help them improve their livelihoods. Most of the BUTA members interviewed had already taken one or more courses. Yet, one trader expressed frustration: if conditions are poor for building a business, how well can the training be utilized? His doubt is certainly not unfounded. However, most of the interviewees stated that the training courses gave them a sense of power and accomplishment despite economic conditions. When facing adversity, a better understanding of the market and a positive self-esteem, hopefully aid the chances of success in business.

Perhaps the most rectifiable issue in which groups may engage is the shelter situation. Because traders do not own their bays, they cannot construct permanent structures over the areas. BUTA, therefore, must continue to lobby and work with the BCC to ensure that shelters are quickly erected. The pace of progress has been much too slow given the urgency of the situation. One BCC official commented that it was important that the BCC maintain a degree of cleanliness in the community, yet makeshift shelters ran counter to this idea. Such structures were positioned at haphazard heights with torn cardboard and plastic hanging off the roofs — not an esthetic sight in such a dignified city. BUTA and the BCC are both, therefore, advised to be innovative and efficient, to let the traders guide the designs, and to get shelters constructed as soon as possible for the sake of both the traders and the city.

BUTA members expressed their intention to establish contact with other informal sector organizations as well, both within Zimbabwe and in neighboring countries in the Southern African Development Community region. This action has the potential of being extremely valuable if effectively established and should, therefore, be diligently pursued. A dialog with

others about shared experiences will provide a forum in which organizations can identify common problems and effective solutions. An international relationship can bolster support for lobbying governments, open means for cross-border trading, and, in essence, implement a kind of “globalization from below” via networking through a people’s economy in the informal market. BUTA’s successes to date have come about due to traders uniting to effect positive changes in their situations. When organizations unite, the individual’s successes and the effectiveness of those organizations can multiply.

The Bulawayo City Council and all of its branches also have areas that need improvement. The structure in which policies and projects are carried out is certainly one with merits. However, the BCC must acknowledge the precarious nature of the informal market and adjust its policies accordingly. If an entrepreneur in the formal market has a bad day of sales, it may hurt his business to a degree; yet when the owner goes home at the end of the day, there will still be food on the table. Conversely, traders in the informal market are more closely affected by the day’s business, so much so that if a vendor has no sales, the family may be unable to buy food that night. Therefore, the BCC must not treat this situation lightly.

Given this reality, the BCC should emphasize the need to move projects and by-laws efficiently through the hierarchy. Regular contact is needed between traders and the BCC to guarantee timely analysis. Perhaps a BUTA advisory board to the BCC could be formed to ensure that the trader viewpoint carries weight throughout the entire process of getting initiatives approved. City Council members need to represent their citizens to appropriate degrees. If the majority of the people are informal traders rather than formal businesspersons, then the majority of the BCC’s attention should focus on that segment of the population.

Finally, the BCC needs a more visible presence in the informal market community. The overwhelming consensus of the traders interviewed was that the City Council did nothing for them. While this is certainly not true, this perspective puts the Council in poor light. A BCC representative should regularly attend BUTA meetings to show support for the traders and to help bridge any misunderstanding. By seeking better public rapport and, by making traders aware of the BCC’s role in their sector’s development, the support and participation by traders will significantly increase, resulting in more appreciated, more efficient, and more effective development efforts.

SUMMARY

The Bulawayo Upcoming Traders Association (BUTA) is an organization whose activities and projects are directed by its members. This direct relationship has led to various initiatives whereby traders are in more strategic positions than before to conduct business in the informal markets of Bulawayo. The measures that BUTA has taken independently enables traders to work within the economic and physical market conditions of the city. However, to ensure a lasting and positive change in these conditions, an even more holistic and participatory approach is needed.

The first and tenth objectives of the 1999 BUTA Constitution stipulate the need to develop positive working relationships with authorities and to ensure optimum support from government bodies. The relationships encapsulated in these objectives form a portion of a three-part participatory framework — including the collaboration of the traders, BUTA, and the BCC — that will improve the livelihood of those in the informal market community.

BUTA's work has been commendable, particularly given its short, six months of existence as a volunteer organization. While some relationships among the three entities (BUTA, BCC, and the traders) are still being strengthened and articulated at the time of this study, much headway had already been made. It is imperative for the sake of the traders that this progress continue. Each of the three parties must address its own responsibilities in addition to understanding the circumstances that surround the others.

By May 2000, despite years of international and domestic development initiatives, the Zimbabwean economy was worsening. One must question, then, why many organizations continued to implement inefficient self-help programs, providing aid to the poor, and why government initiatives continue to prove ineffective or counterproductive. The reasons seem to point to the lack of participation on behalf of all the parties involved. Throughout the country, nongovernmental organizations continued to compete for project areas, each trying to implement its own development scheme, while remaining independent of other initiatives. But in Bulawayo, a very different scenario prevailed. This scenario was one of dialog, consultation, and action within the community. It resulted in achievements that were more profound and sustainable than anywhere else in Zimbabwe. It was progress by participation.

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PERSPECTIVES ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND WOMEN'S COALITION

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ABSTRACT

This article explores how Northern Irish women endow commitments such as equality, inclusion, and Human Rights, with different meanings. The notion that women in Northern Ireland are, or ought to be, advocates of women's rights and gender equality, has no direct bearing on their involvement in and/or support of traditional political agendas. Many women have come to see their struggle as women and their struggle as nationalists or unionists as inextricably linked. This being the case, a dialogically flexible "politics of difference" can be viewed as: 1) more just, in the sense that it allows differing perspectives rather than silencing or distorting them; 2) more pragmatic, in the sense that it has broader popular appeal; and 3) more interpretive or hermeneutic than a political approach that excludes or subsumes the differences that exist among Northern Irish women.



INTRODUCTION: ON SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE

In addition to analyzing shared experiences and potentials for coalition-building among Northern Irish women, this article explores the ways in which differences "matter" to these women, thus, challenging the notion of a monolithic women's experience in Northern Ireland. Many women and, particularly those involved in the Northern Ireland's Women's Coalition (NIWC), are increasingly aware of the need to embrace their differences in the process of building a woman's movement.

To identify these challenges, interviews were conducted in the spring and summer of 2000 that revealed a lack of agreement among women regarding several contentious issues. They also revealed various strategies women use that effectively deny their differences and disagreements which, when construed as form of silencing or exclusion, may impede progress toward the realization of shared ideals. For many cross-community women's organizations,

a “politics of difference” seems better suited than other feminist political approaches to garner the support they need to survive, electorally speaking, in what is a “hostile” (read: socially conservative and patriarchal) political environment as concerns feminism and women’s activism. Moreover, a “politics of difference” seems more “just” precisely because it allows different perspectives to emerge rather than silencing or distorting them; more “pragmatic,” because of its broader appeal; and, more “hermeneutic” (insofar as it is used to understand differences and similarities in meaning) than an approach that excludes or denies any differences among women.

To explain the advantages of hermeneutically charged coalition-politics, this article explores the ways in which and the reasons why women endow issues of equality, inclusion, and Human Rights, with different meanings. The notion that most Northern Irish women are advocates of women’s rights and gender-equality, I argue, has no bearing on their involvement in more traditional political agendas. Moreover, the claim that many women see “political transcendence” and the “transformation” of traditional political structures as goals for the ideal women’s movement is contested in Northern Ireland. This article foregrounds the ways in which many women in Northern Ireland have come to see their struggle as women and their struggle as unionists, nationalists, and/or working-class people, as inextricably linked. It is in this vein that NIWC party leader, Monica McWilliams, refers to the concept of “conflictual activism” (McWilliams in Hoff and Coulter 1995), a useful notion for understanding the history and current state of women’s activism as well as for developing new methods of inclusive coalition-building.

THREE DECADES OF CONFLICTUAL ACTIVISM

The historical roots of women’s conflictual activism in Northern Ireland and their contribution to the formation of a political identity and reification are important to understand. They are also responsible for inhibiting the development of cross-community women’s organizations in the past. Over the last 30 years, however, women have begun to participate in various kinds of intra- and inter-community activism. From the perspective of women activists, there has not been a singular women’s movement in Northern Ireland, but rather various movements, based on geography, class, and religious-political affiliations, each with distinctive goals (despite other common features, interests, and objectives, as well). Given the deep conviction women have displayed in supporting nationalist and unionist causes throughout this time, future coalition building initiatives will require a recognition of irreconcilable differences (as well as reconcilable ones) and an openness to what Young (Young in Nicholson 1990) has called “unassimilated otherness”.

Throughout the period of the civil rights movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, women’s political activism increased considerably in Northern Ireland in reaction to the discrimination and oppression of Catholics by British and Unionist elites. The movement promoted social justice through radical structural and political change, particularly with respect to housing, fair employment, equal representation, and reform of the police force (the almost exclusively Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary or RUC). A prominent

republican civil rights leader, Bernadette Devlin, and other republican activists, became well known during this period because of their vocal opposition to the discriminatory policies of the unionist-dominated Stormont government. Civil rights marches and protests — notably the protests against the Bloody Sunday killing of unarmed republican civil rights marchers by British soldiers in 1972¹ and protests against the British government policy of indefinite internment without trial of suspected paramilitaries (a policy which disproportionately affected republican paramilitaries), gave women an opportunity to get involved in an unprecedented way in what McWilliams (McWilliams in Hoff and Coulter 1995) has called the “macro-politics” of Northern Ireland. Many republican women (as well as a few loyalist women) joined local Citizen Defense Committees and participated in the anti-internment struggle, lobbying for the release of husbands, brothers, and sons. In this context, then, the nature of women’s activism clearly had as much to do with women’s shared experiences as Catholic nationalists (and, in some cases, as Protestant unionists and loyalists), as it did with their shared experiences as women.

It is also significant that republican women framed the violence and discrimination against Catholics as “women’s” issues. Their participation in the civil rights movement heightened their political awareness and legitimated their political influence as participants in the republican struggle. This experience informed their understanding of the Northern Ireland conflict (i.e., as a conflict about social injustices suffered by Catholics at the hands of the British or, from the unionist women’s perspectives, about the subversive and violent anti-state behavior of Catholic republicans) and it contributed to shaping the “conflictual activism” in the years that followed.

Most women’s political initiatives during the 1970s, including the well known Falls Road Curfew “Bread March” — a protest against army checkpoints blocking food trucks from entering republican neighborhoods during periods of tension and violence — involved women almost exclusively from one side of the nationalist-unionist divide (Rooney in Hoff and Coulter 1995, p. 41). Until the late 1970s, most of these initiatives were decidedly nationalist and/or republican in nature. The Relatives Action Committee (RAC), established in 1976 to promote prisoners’ rights, is a good example of an expressly nationalist women’s initiative.

The RAC was remarkably effective in raising awareness about prison conditions and prisoners’ demands for political, rather than criminal, status. Women prisoners’ protests were consciously republican in nature. During the blanket protest, for instance, republican women inmates in prisons across the country refused to wear their prison uniforms in hopes of undermining “British Government’s efforts to criminalize republicans” (Interview Brady, June 16, 2000). Wrapping themselves in prison blankets, they sang freedom songs in Gaelic (Irish) — an overt expression of nationalism — and demanded to be treated as prisoners of war.² Many republicans today refer to the prison protests as campaigns that ultimately benefited both loyalist and republican prisoners, but in which loyalists refused to participate at the time. Some republicans also recalled preferential treatment for loyalist prisoners (Interview McClenaghan, June 4, 2000).

Not even with strip searching, was there cross-community, protest-oriented, coalition-building among women. British Army officers who conducted these searches were viewed as “rapists” by many republican women many of whom extended this view to include all British Army officers (*Idem.*). By supporting the British Army, republican women argued, unionists were complicit in the searches and in other violations and abuses against republican women inside and outside of prisons. From this assertion of complicity and culpability, a widely-held republican belief developed that saw women’s activism and feminism possible only in the context of a “progressive” republican movement.

As these examples illustrate, for republicans, the women’s struggle was embedded in the republican struggle. Sinn Fein, considered by its members to be the “official” republican party, incorporated a women’s movement into the republican struggle by designing a quasi-independent Women’s Department to raise awareness of the rights, needs, and concerns of republican women. The Women’s Department published a monthly magazine, *Women in Struggle* (1995), espousing republican values and encouraging women to participate in their movement. Since no references to inter-community work are found in this magazine, one might assume that the title refers to “republican women”, rather than “all” women. Nonetheless, the magazine focused on typically “women’s” issues such as child care, education, women’s occupational training, gender equality, women in politics, women in the republican armed struggle, and women prisoners of war (*Ibid.*).

The republican movement and, more broadly speaking, the nationalist movement, were both effective in monopolizing the moral force of social justice ideology and of socialism. Likewise, women’s activism in the republican movement effectively took up the legitimacy of women’s rights ideology (i.e., as republican women’s rights ideology). Socialist-feminist activity was defined by mainstream unionism and loyalism and, in large part, as nationalistic, insurgent and, in effect, anti-British/unionist. Although working class unionist women faced similar issues as did working class republican women (i.e., poverty, lack of access to quality health care, and general disenfranchisement), unionists were often more reluctant to voice their grievances (McWilliams in Hoff and Coulter 1995).

Many unionist women linked socialism and socialist feminism with violent republicanism, a linkage that was not without foundation. By 1970, paramilitary activity became a driving force behind the republican movement. Many politically active unionist (and some nationalist) women viewed the militancy of republicanism as antithetical to women’s interests. For many unionist women, the concept of “republican feminism” had an oxymoronish quality. Rhonda Paisley, daughter of renown Democratic Unionist Party leader, Ian Paisley, explained that many unionist women saw “republican feminism” as an impossibility, given republican women’s support of and participation in the IRA. In contrast, for republicans, unionism lacked the progressive spirit of republicanism and failed to acknowledge the oppressive and patriarchal nature of British rule and, thus, could not effectively accommodate a feminist movement.

Women activists from both sides of the religious-political divide who were involved in grassroots organizations, served vitally important roles within their communities. However,

strong differences between nationalist and unionist women made lobbying for broad scale legal and educational reform extremely difficult. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, women were generally excluded from representative positions in official parties which were distinguished by their positions on contentious issues such as reform of the police force (the almost exclusively Protestant RUC), the decommissioning of weapons³ and, most importantly, the national (or constitutional) question. On the one hand, these issues were appropriated as “women’s issues.” On the other, they tended to dominate political discourse in such a way that other concerns shared by groups of women — such as equal pay for equal work, spousal abuse laws, and the right to maternity leave and child care facilities — were marginalized. Problems facing women unrelated to these contentious issues gained acceptance, expanding and transforming the nature of political discourse, with the rise of inter-community activism in the 1980s and 1990s. Establishment of the NIWC in 1996 during all-party talks leading up to the Good Friday Agreement may be viewed as a culminating moment in this process.⁴

PERSPECTIVES ON THE NIWC AND CROSS-COMMUNITY WOMEN’S ACTIVISM

This section utilizes opposing viewpoints to offer hermeneutical critiques of the NIWC, as well as of other parties, with respect to their positions on various contentious issues such as: the constitutional question, decommissioning, police reform, women’s political activism, childcare, integrated education, women’s reproductive rights, and feminism. Critical attitudes toward the NIWC expressed by women members of the DUP and Sinn Fein, if taken seriously by NIWC leadership, have the potential to strengthen the NIWC as a party by broadening its electoral base and increasing its legitimacy in the eyes of staunch nationalists and unionists.

A PARTY FOR THE POLITICALLY HOMELESS

Most NIWC women and men take pride in their party’s success at bringing women together from opposing sides of Northern Ireland’s religious-political divide. However, disagreement exists within the NIWC as to what the practice of “bringing people together” implies and entails. Many in NIWC leadership positions (including party leader Monica McWilliams and high ranking official Kate Fearon) boast that the organization embraces nationalists, unionists, loyalists, republicans, and independents, all within its ranks.⁵ Initially, this claim may seem paradoxical.⁶ Indeed, others within the party’s leadership regard such boasting as counterproductive with regard to “bringing women together.” Attaching traditional political labels to women after they have joined the coalition may suggest that there is nothing “distinctive” about them, as women involved in a cross-community party. (Indeed, this is one of the rationales behind the party leadership’s reluctance to survey their membership).

If, however, one of the Coalition’s overriding goals is, as Morrice (Interview. June 15, 2000) puts it: to get people to “leave their political baggage at the door and work toward

common interests and common goals, and to realize that there's something that's more important in [their] shared interests than in [their] political separateness," then why would coalition leaders boast of republicans and loyalists supporting their party? Would the fact that those women are still republicans and loyalists not indicate failure of the NIWC to "convert" them? Would this not also suggest failure of the women themselves to transcend former political allegiances; in effect, to leave these old titles (that, incidentally, refer to male-dominated political groups) "at the door" with as much "political baggage" as can be parted with?

On the one hand, NIWC leadership promotes "transcendence" as a means of decreasing the salience of reified religious-political identity and of increasing alternative forms of mobilization. On the other hand, the fact that the NIWC also welcomes people of different political persuasions, as Fearon (Interview. July 20, 2000) puts it, partly but significantly ". . . makes the party what it is," — i.e., it makes the party, by (her) definition, a "coalition." For Fearon and McWilliams, coalition-building implies involving women who maintain former political allegiances, and also those who abandon them. This view of coalition-building, however, is not necessarily shared by NIWC leadership or by its general membership.

Monica McWilliams, elected assembly member and founding member of the NIWC, is one of those women in the coalition who, to some degree, has held on to her former political allegiance. Surprisingly, McWilliams (Interview. March 5, 2000) is a self-proclaimed republican. Indeed, she "cut her political teeth" in the civil rights movement, a movement characterized by varying degrees of republicanism. One might expect that, although some members of the party may retain some of their "political baggage," the party leader would want to define herself as a model structuralist-feminist; i.e., as someone who has risen above "antiquated" political divisions. Hermeneutics calls for a more interpretive investigation into this apparent contradiction.

McWilliams views her political commitments as a republican and a woman (and a feminist) as separate, yet compatible. Moreover, unlike many other women in Northern Ireland, she sees the task of addressing gender inequality and other women's needs as a political imperative. Thus, in an imaginative attempt to challenge dominant political discourse, McWilliams reconstructs and reappropriates the meanings of several hotly contested concepts: republicanism, feminism, women's interests, and politics. McWilliams reconceptualizes republicanism in a way that no longer implies support for the provisional IRA (a move that many republicans would see as antithetical to republican core principles). Moreover, she introduces the possibility that one can be a republican without also prioritizing the national question. Whereas the dominant political discourse relegates "women's issues" to the purportedly apolitical, private, and domestic sphere, McWilliams reformulates feminism and the imperative to address women's interests as explicitly "political projects" and, at the same time, she expands the content of the "political" to include women's interests.

McWilliams sought at once to hold onto her republican ideals and to transform them and she saw others from both sides of the political divide, as wanting to do something quite similar. In her words (*Idem.*), these people:

. . . are generally the people who have not joined a party, because they haven't found a party that they're satisfied with. And if they join Sinn Fein or the PUP, then they're immediately identifying themselves as being republican or loyalist. I would see myself as a republican — but a “civic” republican . . . a republican as in against the monarchy and for an independent, accountable government . . . but republicanism has been kind of monopolized by Sinn Fein. And there are civic unionists who don't want to be seen as this monolith unionist, but actually have a much more civic approach to it . . . where they're trying to respect their overlapping identities.

One might regard McWilliams' self-definition as a “civic” republican as an attempt to recover and to rehabilitate the concept of republicanism in order to make it compatible with a feminist agenda. Here, “civic” implies a willingness to address differences with “civility” and to make an effort to bridge the religious-political divide for the sake of women and the community at large. Her emphasis on the importance of respecting “overlapping identities” seems to indicate her commitment to Young's notion of a “politics of difference.” A poststructuralist dimension of this political disposition is suggested by the emphasis that McWilliams places on deconstructing reified, monolithic conceptions of nationalism and unionism, Irish and British, as well as of feminism and “women's interests.”

PERSPECTIVES OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

On the surface, it would seem that Sinn Fein's platform on women's issues is identical to that of the NIWC. Among other similarities, both parties espouse the values of equality, Human Rights, and inclusion. Both parties advocate women's rights and encourage women to become active in politics. Both parties support grass-roots women's organizations and community groups. And both parties have women within their ranks who developed their political awareness during the civil rights movement. Finally, members of both parties are proponents of integrated education.

Upon closer inspection, however, one finds deep ideological rifts between Sinn Fein and the NIWC with respect to women and women's issues. These differences arise from disagreements over what constituted the causes of conflict in Northern Ireland and what constitutes “progress.” Disagreements also stem from lived-experiences and influences. Although the NIWC party ethos provides more latitude for cross-community understanding than does republicanism, both NIWC and Sinn Fein members tend to under appreciate the complexity and the “inner-rationality” of perspectives held by members of the opposite party. In order for the NIWC to advance its objective of “understanding across difference,” its leaders may need respectfully to agree to disagree on certain contentious issues in order to

avoid alienating republican women by belittling their convictions, their political priorities, and their identification as members of the “republican family” (Interview, Nellis. March 15, 2000).

From the perspective of republican women, perhaps the most significant fissure is that regarding the constitutional question. Regardless of whether or not one supports the republican movement for a united Ireland, one can hardly fail to notice that this movement is of central importance to most republican women. It would be naïve, moreover, to suggest that the centrality of the constitutional question for republican women supporting Sinn Fein is merely an outgrowth of their inability or unwillingness to realize, in Morrice’s words (Interview Morrice. June 15, 2000), that “there’s something more important” in inter-community “sameness” than in “political separateness.” As discussions with women in Ardoyne, a working class republican neighborhood in North Belfast revealed, many republican women know well that cross-community commonalities run along gender and class lines. These women “reasonably disagree” with Morrice’s argument that commonality of experience matters more than fundamental differences of opinion regarding the constitutional question. One ought to recognize, then, that Morrice is participating in, rather than transcending, the conflict discourse by downplaying the importance of the constitutional question.

For republican women, the struggle for women’s liberation is intricately bound up with the anti-colonial struggle. Sectarian discrimination against Catholics, forced segregation, and the systematic “ghettoization” of Catholic communities through legal housing restrictions (Interview, Nellis. March 15, 2000); restrictions preventing non-home-owning Catholics from voting; indiscriminate arrests of Catholic women and men; sexual harassment of Catholic women by RUC and British Army officials; and violent strip searches of Catholic women prisoners, all form part of their collective memory of colonialism. It is also part of their continuing experience as victims of its legacy (e.g., in terms of economic inequality and the enduring effects of psychological trauma). For republican women, the fight for freedom and equality is, to a large extent, the fight against the unionist-colonists or “settlers” and against the army and the government of their “imperialist” fatherland.

The ideological gap between Sinn Fein and the NIWC goes beyond the constitutional question, however. Broadly speaking, the gap relates to the very legitimacy of the republican movement and to the women’s movement within republicanism. Republican women in Ardoyne resented the attitude of some that their movement was simply about defending their community or their “tribe,” as McWilliams put it. Furthermore, they resented allegations that this type of “macho” republican mentality was an ongoing cause of the Northern Ireland conflict.

A hermeneutical approach, however, requires investigation into the reasons republican women feel compelled to support or participate in the IRA, and why they hold this position. Hermeneutics reframes the analysis, as articulated by many in the NIWC and by many so-called “neutral” academics and journalists, by foregrounding the way in which the problem is not that republicans “feel” a need to defend their community, but rather that there “is”

that need. In other words, a hermeneutic commitment requires that one grasp the cleavage between Protestant-unionist/loyalist and Catholic-nationalist/republican not merely as perceptual or ideological, but as one that involves real persecution. One Sinn Fein republican woman from Ardoyne (Interview, Brady. April 29, 2000) explains fear of the loyalist paramilitary threat in this way: “Not only in Ardoyne, it’s the ongoing nature of our hurt from the loyalist side . . . I mean, my son was near murdered by a loyalist. And, as a mother, that’s just terrifying.” As her statement suggests, part of what makes the loyalist threat a women’s concern is that the republican women accepted their role as child rearers within the “republican family,” a role that many republican women view as consistent with republican feminism (Interviews, Brady and McClenaghan. April 29, and June 4, 2000, respectively).

As mothers, many republican women feel an obligation to support the IRA since the IRA protects their children from loyalist paramilitaries and the British army. Whereas the NIWC recognizes the needs of women who accept a domestic, child rearing role, they do not fully appreciate the reasons why many republican women see responsibilities as care givers as consistent with their involvement in an armed campaign.⁷ Through hermeneutic inquiry, one discovers that women in Ardoyne have compelling reasons for their support of Sinn Fein and the IRA, grounded in their experience as victims of violence at the hands of loyalist paramilitaries, the British Army, and the RUC, and weighed against other options for ensuring security.

PERSPECTIVES OF WOMEN FROM THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY

Since 1996, when the NIWC was formed, Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) members have been its harshest critics. Both the DUP and the Free Presbyterian church are known for uncompromising conservatism with regard to the constitutional question and other related issues. These issues include support of a union with Britain and unionist “majority rule” in Northern Ireland; as well as various social issues, including gender roles (the DUP establishment promotes women as primary homemakers and care givers) and women’s reproductive rights (reflected in the DUP’s staunch anti-abortion policy platform). Influenced by the religiously charged, anti-republican (and often anti-Catholic) rhetoric of Ian Paisley and others, they take a hard line on republican violence, condemning the IRA and Sinn Fein as “terrorist” organizations and vehemently opposing all efforts, including those of the NIWC, to negotiate with such bodies. Hermeneutic inquiry helps to determine why DUP women view their interests as women as compatible with and integral to the dominant political ethos of the DUP.

Rab also recalls scenes of atrocities on television and her disgust at the brutality with which paramilitary organizations acted in her own neighborhood and in others. Over the years, she developed a hatred of paramilitaries and everything associated with them, including political parties (especially Sinn Fein, but also the Progressive Unionist Party, the purported political wing of the Ulster Defense Association). She links her condemnatory attitude to both her party allegiance and her belief that “ending republican violence would be the best thing for women in Northern Ireland today” (Interview, Rab. May 15, 2000). Like Rhonda

Paisley, she sees the involvement or exclusion of Sinn Fein from “peace negotiations” and from the new Northern Ireland Assembly as a women’s issue.

Moreover, Rab also felt “betrayed by the Ulster Unionists,” the most popular party in Northern Ireland at the time when David Trimble, UUP party leader, agreed to share executive power with Sinn Fein before the IRA decommissioned its weapons. Rab, who voted against the Good Friday Agreement at the referendum, contrasts Ian Paisley with Trimble (whom she describes as a liar) in this way (*Idem.*): “Dr. Paisley is the most honest man. No matter what people say about him, whether they like him or not, they’ll tell you, there’s one thing about him: he tells you that black is black and white is white.” Like many republican women, Rab finds it difficult to imagine a middle ground between “black and white” (read: unionist and nationalist and/or Protestant and Catholic). She has little tolerance for the ambiguity of NIWC leaders’ positions with regard to political matters. Indeed, she equates ambiguity with “hypocrisy,” i.e., as indicative of contradictory and, thus, dishonest positions on what she views as important political issues.

As for the NIWC, Rab has “no time for them.” She strongly objects to the party’s ideology and to their very existence. She feels even more strongly than the women from Ardoyne about the “falseness” of the NIWC. In her words (*Idem.*): “To try to be all things to all people . . . and you can’t be! I mean, it would be lovely to say that I can think both nationalist and unionist, but you can’t! You’re either one or the other. You’re either black or you’re white.” Given her low tolerance for ambiguity, any potential for political transformation in the Northern Irish context seems beyond her comprehension. The steadfastness and apparent popularity of her position undoubtedly challenges the NIWC in its efforts to convince women (and men) of the importance of “transformative transcendence” in an effort to promote a more egalitarian and less oppressive society.

Rab’s most powerful criticism of the NIWC has to do with their willingness to negotiate with Sinn Fein/IRA and with the PUP, both of which have historical links to paramilitary organizations. It is not surprising, then, that she views the NIWC as a group of terrorist sympathizers (*Idem.*):

I said [to the Women’s Coalition], what you’ve done is you’ve shaken the hands of terrorists who have been involved in bloody battles and killed people . . . I mean there are people there who have committed dozens of atrocities. And yet they’re up there in good suits. I mean, you don’t change inside when you put on a good suit. There’s still blood on your hands.

Rab expresses equal disdain for the PUP and for Sinn Fein. Her contention with the NIWC is that they are rubbing shoulders with the political wings of “terrorist” organizations. One might expect that she would see the NIWC as IRA sympathizers and consider it a republican-oriented party. However, upon further inquiry, one finds that her argument has an internal consistency that ought to be compelling to those who oppose physical force violence as a

means of achieving any ends. Indeed, many among the “politically homeless” share Rab’s view of paramilitaries.

DEALING WITH DIFFERENCE: REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Given the extent to which deep-seated religious-political divisions and tensions have been discursively and institutionally entrenched in Northern Irish political culture, it is understandable that the NIWC’s project of feminist coalition-building has encountered, since its foundation, challenging dilemmas involving “sameness and difference.” However, despite reified religious-political divisions in the country and, despite the influence of socially conservative religious ideology (both Catholic and Protestant), the NIWC has, to a remarkable degree, succeeded in creating a “dialogue across difference (Cockburn in Roulston 2000, p. 154).”⁸ At the same time, the NIWC has been effective in efforts to promote solidarity around a progressive feminist agenda. This agenda, reflecting both the modern-structuralist and the postmodern-deconstructive sensibilities of its shapers, challenges traditional constructs of women (including political priorities and the rules of political debate), nationalism, unionism, peace, justice, and inclusion, as they have been defined by the dominant political discourse in Northern Ireland.

Central to the effectiveness of the NIWC’s coalition-building strategies, is the emphasis that party leaders place on what McWilliams and Fearon call “transformative transcendence.” One of the central objectives of the NIWC, as articulated by McWilliams and Fearon, has been to challenge the prioritization of traditional nationalist and unionist prerogatives in the dominant political discourse, and to bring inter-communal interests among women (and men) from the margins to the center of that discourse. “Transformative transcendence” allows for the preservation of “traditional identities,” while opening up a creative space in which these and other identities can be imaginatively and communicatively negotiated. The result is a dialogically charged politics of inclusion and intersectionality in which multiple and “overlapping identities” of individuals and groups come to the fore (Interview, McWilliams. May 3, 2000).

Insofar as inclusive processes imply a struggle for solidarity, the solidarity that is achieved must be one rooted “in difference;” i.e., they must acknowledge both differences and commonalities as part of their constitution. As Young (1997) argues regarding the concept of “unity in difference” with respect to feminist coalition-building: “[Unity] is a product of political discussion and struggle among people of diverse backgrounds, experiences, and interests, who are differentially situated in matrices of power and privilege. The process of discussion and disagreement among feminists forges a common commitment to a politics against oppression that produces the identity “woman” as a coalition. Young’s articulation of the meaning of “unity in difference,” in some respects, points to the dialectical-hermeneutical “politics of difference” that I advocate in this context as well.

For the sake of internal theoretical consistency and, to avoid any charge of hypocrisy, the NIWC must, in the spirit of inclusion, apply the theoretical, moral, and pragmatic

“imperative of deconstruction and negotiation” to the progressive-feminist and civic principles espoused by the party (as well as to the more “conservative” or “traditional” values espoused by most Northern Irish women and men, including members of the NIWC). That is to say, the NIWC leadership must, through hermeneutically charged dialog, encourage negotiation of its own communicatively generated values and priorities. Allowing for a genuinely dialogical contestation of values and priorities requires more than mere recognition of differences among women. It requires that their differences be explored and understood as fully as possible. The theoretical, moral, and pragmatic project of understanding differences requires that NIWC members understand the various “meanings” that people attach to “actions” and to shared and contested “concepts.” Such a mode of inquiry is theoretically, morally, and pragmatically indispensable to a project of “inclusive” coalition-building.

The indispensability of hermeneutics for “inclusive” coalition-building derives from a hermeneutic commitment to the project of “fusing horizons;” that is, to the expansion of one’s views to include “foreign” concepts — concepts that are initially outside of the inquirer’s linguistic frame of reference (Gadamer cited in Mueller-Vollmer 1997). This commitment requires an empathetic approach to interpreting the concepts and points of view of others. Given that it is undesirable to bracket and transcend the conceptual framework by which one is able to understand the social world, this interpretive approach requires that the inquirer or, in this case, the coalition-builder, expand her framework in order to develop a fuller understanding of new and different concepts in relation to her own. By sorting out the meanings (i.e., by making sense) of foreign concepts in contrast to those in her own conceptual frame, the interpretive inquirer, or the hermeneutically engaged feminist coalition-builder, can come to understand more fully the subjective context in which her interlocutors’ concepts, actions, and beliefs, make sense to them.

Ideally, the fusion of concepts that hermeneutic inquiry requires is always reciprocal; i.e., it expands both the conceptual frameworks of the “inquirer” as well as that of the “interlocutor.” Unreciprocated fusions — fusions that expand the coalition-builder’s conceptual frame but not also that of those she strives to understand — do little to promote the sustainability and growth of a “politics of difference.” Thus, the project of postmodern-feminist coalition-building requires not only that one recognize and understand difference, but also that one cultivate an environment in which hermeneutically engaged dialog and “mutual fusions” come to be seen, more and more, as an important goal and process of political discourse and debate.

The fact that hermeneutically engaged coalition-building requires mutual fusions, however, does not necessarily imply agreement. Indeed, successful fusions often require a recognition of disagreement. Porter (Porter in Roulston 2000, p. 54) provides a sense in which “agreeing to disagree” can reflect the deepest understanding of difference. Citing Roulston’s analysis of the disagreement between Protestant and Catholic women over the 1980 hunger strikes by republican prisoners, Porter wrote:

Protestants regarded the idea that young men would die for a dream [or for the Republican cause] as an outrageous waste, whereas Catholics saw it as a heroic sacrifice. Despite real differences, the outcome was that, in the end, they ‘agreed to disagree.’ This is the mature response — it acknowledges fundamental, major differences, but permits the continuation of a healthy, working relationship within the framework of difference.

A “working relationship within a framework of difference” is, in many ways, precisely what the NIWC has tried to cultivate over recent years. Needless to say, this type of politics encounters many dilemmas, especially in the formal political sphere, where public positions need to be constantly articulated and where discursive tactics of ideological manipulation and distortion (of differences and of meanings) may often be utilized for political gain.

As suggested in this article, the NIWC leadership seems to go too far in reifying one view as the “right” view, reflecting the real interests of women. This is both an unethical and counterproductive tendency with regard to the project of coalition-building. It compromises the politic of “inclusion,” and the hermeneutic “politic of difference” that is implied and required by the principle of “inclusion.” The NIWC would be no less cohesive if its leaders grasped (through interpretive inquiry) and acknowledged both the subjective and inter-subjective meanings that constitute republican women’s support of the IRA or DUP women’s opposition to the Good Friday Agreement. Indeed, the NIWC might even increase its base of support and further cultivate a “hermeneutic environment” if its leaders and members could further demonstrate an undistorted understanding of republican and DUP women’s perspectives on these and other issues.

As the history of the NIWC and of women’s activism in Northern Ireland illustrates, coalition-building movements are most effective when leaders embrace a politics of understanding and avoid rhetorical reification. Thus, apart from the moral imperatives of inclusion and non-imposition, a hermeneutic framework has a pragmatic dimension as well — it may very well help keep the NIWC and, with it, a dialogical “politics of difference,” in power.

ENDNOTES

1. It is difficult to overstate the significance of the Bloody Sunday killings for women's political activism in Northern Ireland. This incident provoked a shift in the rhetoric of mainstream republicanism and dramatically escalated republican militancy. What was once a peaceful and inclusivist movement, modeled on the Civil Rights movement in the U.S., became a militant struggle for Catholic emancipation. Republican women's activism was shaped by a belief in the overriding importance of this goal, which could only be achieved, it was argued, through the struggle for a united Ireland.

2. Gaelic is often used in the republican community to reassert a common Irish identity as distinct and separate from British identity.

3. As one might imagine, nationalist parties demanded total reform of the RUC, declaring it to be a prejudicial and corrupt police force, while most unionists saw the RUC as a force that protected unionists' interests and cultural heritage, and therefore they opposed the reform movement.

4. For a discussion of the challenges that faced the NIWC in its early years and the strategies the party developed to deal with them, see Fearon 1999.

5. Significantly, to date, no formal survey has been conducted within the NIWC of the percentages of women representing different political or class backgrounds. Party leadership is ambivalent about asking members about their formal political affiliations, in part, because they wish to avoid labeling people who join the NIWC precisely to distance themselves from the traditional parties. However, other studies exist that provide some indications of the NIWC's diverse voter base. (Cf. Ward in Gallagher et al. 1999).

6. That is, the claim may seem paradoxical to the inquirer. The positivist's/essentialist's response to what seems "paradoxical" about the NIWC leadership's claim might be to consider the claim contradictory or irrational.

7. Other forms of republican women's political activism exist that are too lengthy to discuss in this paper. Suffice it to say that, on the whole, women in Sinn Fein feel they are active participants and can achieve their ends both as women and as republicans within the party, even though that means challenging Sinn Fein policies affecting low quotas for women in the party's leadership (Interview, McClenaghan. April 30, 2000).

8. A useful definition of this type of inclusive alliance-politics is provided by Cynthia Cockburn. For Cockburn (2000, p. 154), at the core of effective and inclusive coalition-building initiatives is "a creative structure of relational space between collectivities marked by problematic differences." This seems to be an accurate summary of precisely what McWilliams and Fearon hope to achieve.

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ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE: A STABILITY PACT

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ABSTRACT

The European Union and the international community have not shown the vision and commitment necessary to jump-start the region of South East Europe on a road of economic reconstruction and development. The promises of the international community and the European Commission have not been promptly delivered and their actions have been fragmented. The European Union has assumed leadership within the Stability Pact for South East Europe; however, it has not emerged as a leader with the ability to make critical decisions and take prompt action on behalf of the 29 countries and international organizations belonging to the Pact. Moreover, the European Union and the World Bank have also failed to propose a clear strategy for the recovery, development, and integration of the region. As a result, the Stability Pact remains ambiguous and inadequate.



INTRODUCTION

The 1990s have witnessed the unfolding of a new process of Balkanization; that is to say, a seemingly endless process of ever smaller states and political units in the region of South East Europe (SEE).¹ In contrast to trends towards integration in Western and Central Europe, the Balkans are characterized by fragmentation, war, and economic decline. We have seen a struggle between the ethnic and civic concepts of citizenship. In Yugoslavia, the civic concept lost out and the federation disintegrated. Subsequently, over the last decade, conflicts in the region created a very difficult situation with a huge loss of lives, millions of refugees and displaced persons, and significant military involvement.

There is growing consensus that this process of Balkanization will not be self-stabilizing and that the international community will have to take greater responsibility for the region. This is the thinking behind the Stability Pact, announced at the European Council meeting

in Cologne on June 10, 1999. This Pact seeks to offer a way forward if the region is to break out of the cycle of violence and disintegration. However, because the means through which the Pact will become a reality are still being spelled out, it is uncertain whether it will indeed provide the necessary foundation and momentum for all of the countries of SEE to embark on a path of development and integration into a larger European community.

Many papers, declarations, and the Stability Pact itself, stress a long-term approach to the region. However, the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), in particular, have not taken the actions necessary to prove that they are willing to go “all the way.” Promises of the international community and the European Commission have not been promptly delivered, and their actions have been fragmented. The EU assumed leadership within the Stability Pact, yet it has not emerged as a leader with ability to make critical decisions and take prompt action on behalf of the 29 countries and international organizations belonging to the Pact. Moreover, the EU and the World Bank (WB) have also failed to propose a clear strategy for the recovery, development, and integration of the region. As a result, the Stability Pact remains an ambiguous and inadequate response to the region’s problems.

AGENDA SETTING

Some of the reasons why the EU² should take a leading role in the Pact are quite clear. The most evident ones are the huge loss of life, humanitarian disaster, and a significant military presence on the European continent. In addition, other important political, economic, and security reasons exist why the SEE region should be a priority on the EU agenda.

First of all, the SEE region is surrounded by member states and future members of the EU. Thus, any repercussions in the region will have a negative impact on EU member states and states in the association process.³ Second, the states of the region are themselves potential members of the EU. EU policy towards the region, therefore, has to change from reactive to proactive if the desired results of stabilization and association are to be accomplished.

To this point, the EU member states’ SEE policy has been quite pragmatic. One of the goals of many EU member states’ SEE policies has been to stop the flow of refugees, as well as non-refugees, to member EU countries. Conflicts in the Balkans brought hundreds of thousands of refugees to many EU countries in addition to the millions of SEE citizens already living there.⁴ Therefore, despite much high sounding rhetoric about humanitarian intervention and integration into European political, economic, and security structures, the underlying objective of EU member states’ SEE policy may actually be more pragmatic than otherwise.

Other political and economic powers, such as the US and Russia, play an important role in stabilizing the SEE region. However, their actions since the Kosovo conflict show ambiguous interest in the region. Thus far, the US has been very active in the Balkans and

within the Stability Pact. However, the US continues to avoid firm political and economic commitment and seeks instead a cost-effective solution to the region's troubles. Similarly, Russia's diplomatic activity during the Kosovo conflict has faded as it now faces enormous domestic problems of its own. And although the SEE region is no place for power politics, Russia's actions are mostly reactions to new developments, especially those involving the US. For both countries, participation in the Pact ensures a degree of involvement in the region and, to a certain extent, in Europe itself. Both are also essential to the Pact and its success will depend on their constructive role in its implementation, including their role with regard to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). This will have to be done in cooperation with other international and regional bodies such as the EU, the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CoE), international economic and financial institutions, regional initiatives, and individual states which are also included in the essential framework of the Pact.

More importantly, it is in the interest of the SEE countries to break from the unfavorable legacy of past decades, to reconstruct sectors of their economies affected by the conflict, and to embark on a path of economic development and democratization that will bring lasting stability and prosperity for all people of the region. Most countries have made very little progress in these areas, however, even though it is clearly stated by the EC and EU member states' diplomats that active and constructive participation of the SEE countries within the framework of the Stability Pact provides the only means for advancement towards Euro-Atlantic structures.

A MARSHALL PLAN FOR SEE?

On several key points, the Stability Pact can be compared to the Marshall Plan put into place after World War II. And, although the historical situation is quite different, some general precepts from other times and places are still relevant. The Marshall Plan provided a 13 billion dollar package for Western Europe in the wake of World War II. However, it was US leadership and the Europeans themselves, and not the money, that resulted in the stability and development in Western Europe. On both sides of the Atlantic, the stakes were extremely high:

1) The Marshall Plan provided a comprehensive strategy and clear vision for the recovery and development of war-torn Western Europe. Equally important was the firm, decisive, and innovative leadership of the US that underpinned such strategy and vision. Although the Marshall Plan aid was not enough to force European compliance, the role of US leadership in designing and implementing the parameters of economic reconstruction and development in Europe was essential. Moreover, US initiatives were supported by promptly delivered financial resources. Agreement on an unpopular multilateral payment system, which would break Western Europe's post-war bilateral trade structure, was secured after earmarking 600 million dollars of the year's Marshall aid to back the scheme — some 15 percent of the total funds committed that year (Reynolds 1997, pp. 183-187). The resulting payment union (the European Payment Union or EPU) lasted eight years, until full convertibility was achieved.

It was one of the most significant institutional legacies of the Marshall Plan. The success of the Marshall Plan depended on its architects' attention to the politics of leadership and timing. However, one of the biggest successes of US leadership was the inclusion of Germany and its economy within a Western European political, economic system, and later security system, despite the objections of other European countries, particularly France.

2) The Marshall Plan provided assistance at a time when Europe needed it the most. As a result, the Marshall Plan provided the jump-start for European economies. "The European Recovery Program (ERP) assisted rather than prompted European recovery; Marshall aid was not large enough to force European compliance" (Reynolds 1997, p. 181). Progress toward European integration in the 1950s owed something to the Marshall Plan, but it was carried forward primarily by Europeans. The frameworks that were laid down during and immediately after the period of reconstruction culminated in the European economic, security, and political structures of today.

The US stake in Europe was immense, from the economic and political as well as security points of view. Political and economic processes and security structures of post-war Europe were significantly shaped by the overwhelming threat of communism in Europe. In fact, however, the primary impact of Marshall aid was not economic or institutional, but political. Without the Marshall Plan, the communist left would most likely have benefited from the economic troubles of Europe, as did the right in the early 1930s. The Plan was as much about security as recovery in light of emerging communist parties in Europe, particularly in France, Italy, and Greece.

FORMULATION OF THE STABILITY PACT

The Stability Pact aims to strengthen the countries of SEE in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights, and economic prosperity in order to achieve stability in the entire region. This is to be done by achieving the main objectives of the Pact.⁵

The objectives of the Pact are to be accomplished through a South East European Regional Table, chaired by a Special Coordinator, that reviews progress made under the Stability Pact. The Regional Table coordinates activities among the Working Tables, that build on existing expertise, institutions, and initiatives, and could be further divided into sub-tables. The Working Tables establish priorities within their respective areas of competence. They also identify a limited number of priority initiatives to be addressed by each of the Working Tables. Coordination of activities among the Working Tables is very important since many of the objectives complement and re-enforce each other.

The structure and the mechanisms of the Pact are designed to build on to, rather than add to, those that already exist. The experience of the OSCE and its mechanisms and structures — human, economic, and security dimensions — are used as primary models for the Stability Pact. As a result, the process is founded on the principle of consensus and cooperative diplomacy.⁶ Accordingly, the Pact is placed under the auspices of the OSCE and

fully relies on the OSCE to attain compliance with the provisions of the Pact by participating states. However, the countries of the region are the owners of the stabilization process, and their full efforts in and commitments to this undertaking are critical. Therefore, cooperative structures at the regional level, regional initiatives, and regional to international organizations are of particular benefit to this effort.

IMPLEMENTATION

Recovery of the SEE region will require a significant effort, commitment, and vision on the part of the international community, particularly the EU. Nevertheless, any program of recovery and development will be unsuccessful without the full participation, commitment, and effort of the SEE countries themselves. Consequently, the region of SEE will require both a top-down and bottom-up approach to recovery and development.

A TOP-DOWN APPROACH

EU financial assistance to the region of SEE has amounted to Euro 16 billion (US \$14 billion)⁷ since 1991. Until now, the EU has also put in place a generous policy offering broadly duty-free access of SEE exports to the EU market.⁸ In general, the region's economies are lagging behind in the process of integration into the larger European economy. Only two countries, Bulgaria and Romania, have managed to establish association agreements with the EU; the rest, for various reasons, have been left out of the process of establishing closer relations with the most important and powerful economic grouping in Europe. Montenegro recently began to negotiate the establishment of an association agreement with the EU. However, aid, preferential trade policies, and sporadic association agreements will not be enough to revitalize the economies of the region.

The SEE region needs a clear strategy and vision. To date, several strategies have been advanced by different institutions and "think tanks." A Center for European Policy Studies paper (May 3, 1999) suggests that, in the near future, Pact participating countries should integrate their customs revenues, first within SEE, and then within the European common market. The EU would compensate the countries of the region for their loss of revenues out of the EU budget. This compensation would exceed the loss of revenues, thus providing a strong incentive for participation. The annual burden to the EU budget would be in the range of Euro 5 billion (US \$4.3 billion). According to the paper, this fits perfectly within the Europe 2000 budget agreed upon in Berlin. With help from the EU, these countries would also be able to move to the Euro or the Deutsche Mark until the Euro is introduced as the common currency throughout the EU.⁹ Within the foreseeable future, maybe two-three years, the area could then be admitted to the European common market and, in the more distant future, the countries could be admitted to full membership on a country-by-country basis. Furthermore, trade could be fostered by the participation of these countries within the World Trade Organization (WTO) and further integration into other free trade areas such as Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA).

Similarly, the World Bank, designated to develop a regional strategy together with the EC, has recently presented another paper¹⁰ that seems to have generated some agreement and consensus in the wake of increasing urgency for a strategy for the SEE region. In the WB paper, Gligorov makes the following observation:

The WB paper rests on the assumption that a major factor underlying the poor economic performance of the SEE region as a whole is a lack of progress in the transition towards a market-based economy. Moreover, the problem of transition is largely considered an orthodox one; i.e., the key to macroeconomic stabilization and microeconomic restructuring lies in privatization. In addition, it repeats the now standard stress on public and private governance. Finally, the paper contains a chapter on social cohesion. It argues that the strengthening of civil society is a necessary concomitant to reconstruction (WB Document 2000, p. 3).

The WB paper divides the process of trade integration into two phases separated by an interim period of review. In the first phase, lasting two-three years, SEE countries would liberalize and eliminate all administrative barriers to trade. The EU would conclude bilateral agreements with the SEE-5,¹¹ which would provide improved access to EU markets, but also stimulate regional integration. These bilateral agreements would be in the form of asymmetric free trade agreements (FTAs) or autonomous trade preferences (ATPs). During the period of review, the EU would decide among various options for future relations with the SEE-5 countries, tailored to the needs of the individual countries.

In the second phase, SEE-5 would establish a full-fledged Free Trade Area with the EU and each other. SEE-5 countries will need to implement a convergence of their external tariff to that of the EU. In addition, they would have to “make progress in aligning economic policies and institutions in other areas needed to make a customs union and/or fuller integration effective” (WB Document 2000, p. 63). The EU would progressively eliminate remaining restrictions on imports from these countries in accordance with timetables to be negotiated. The paper suggests that the process of trade integration could move into the second phase during 2004-5. In comparison to the strategy proposed by the Center for European Policy Studies paper, the strategy of the WB appears far more pragmatic.

A REGIONAL FUNDING CONFERENCE

A Regional Funding Conference in Brussels in late March 2000 was motivated by an increased sense of urgency. The emphasis was on a quick-start package for projects likely to be started or tended during the subsequent 12-month period. Donors pledged Euro 0.6 billion (US \$525 billion), more than was actually required. The targets of the quick-start package were projects and initiatives that will make a visible difference in the lives of ordinary people and lift the expectations of the local business communities. The total of Euro 2.4 billion (US \$2.1 billion), pledged under the quick-start package, was to be the first installment of the Euro 12 billion (US \$10.5 billion) for the long-term program, to be

dispersed over a six-year period.¹² Euro 2.3 billion (US \$2.1 billion) was earmarked for Serbia alone from the long-term program of assistance.

Quick-start projects cover economic reconstruction, security, and democratization, as well as some combined projects. The bulk of the money was earmarked for infrastructure projects, less to other economic projects, with some money for security and democratization. The EC was to contribute Euro 530 million (US \$463.7 million) to the quick-start package, which was to be matched by contributions from individual EU member states. Other financial institutions such as the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank and the Council of Europe Development Bank were to contribute Euro 1.085 billion (US \$0.9 billion). The biggest EU pledgers were Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, with contributions of Euro 149.60, 148.58, and 67.75 million (US \$130.9, \$130, \$59.3 million), respectively. The United States also pledged Euro 80.56 million (US \$70.5 million) for projects of the quick-start package.

A BOTTOM-UP APPROACH

Concomitantly, with a top-down approach, the SEE countries must develop and implement a strategy of transition reforms, mainly institutional capacity development and regional cooperation.

“There is no practical opportunity to make the Stability Pact a working strategy without developing the initial institutional and organizational facilities, capable of hosting the EU programs” (Minchev 2000, p. 3). Without being able to absorb aid provided by the international community and without being able to develop institutions conducive to change, the Pact will fail even before its implementation. The institutional environment in SEE that was present in Western Europe in the wake of World War II is missing. For that reason, the Stability Pact appears to be an even more ambitious project than was the Marshall Plan.

THE LESSONS OF DEVELOPMENT

While economic development is an essential component of overall development, it is not the only aspect. This is because development must ultimately address more than the economic and financial needs of people.

In essence, economic growth results not only from growth in the quantity and quality of resources and improved technology but also from the social and political structures conducive to such change. Economic growth demands a stable and flexible social and political framework capable of accommodating and encouraging rapid structural change. It also requires a social environment capable of resolving the inevitable interest group and sectoral conflicts that accompany structural change. Conducive local attitudes and institutional conditions that are amenable to structural change are essential factors for economic development. “The apparent failure of some developing countries to reach higher rates of development in spite of heavy investments in human and physical capital and the

importation of sophisticated technological practices can be traced largely to the inflexibility of their social and political institutions as well as the reactionary power of some of the vested interest groups” (Todaro 1988, p. 122).

The institutions and organizations of the SEE countries currently function very poorly. Moreover, little progress has been made in this area. According to Minchev (2000), Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Kosovo are completely de-institutionalized as a consequence of war. Albania’s institutions of democratic representation exist with almost no capacity to enforce their political decisions. Bulgaria, Romania, and Macedonia possess relatively suitable institutional and organizational systems capable of carrying out the most basic tasks, but their institutional capacity does not measure up in any way to the EU standard. “Mass scale corruption and low quality services of generally inefficient performance are the basic obstacles to a strategy of transformation. These countries have the capacity to perform a successful public administrative reform with limited international assistance” (*Ibid.*, p. 3). However, as also argued by Minchev, “The process of political transformation (which may be not necessarily democratic in the beginning) may substantially erode the administrative system and bring dangerous de-institutionalization and chaos in the country” (*Idem.*). It is evident that the SEE countries altogether lack or have very little capacity to effectively absorb international aid and implement the Stability Pact.

The SEE countries also lag far behind others of Central Europe in the process of transition to market economies. Many SEE countries “ . . . face basic problems of macroeconomic stabilization and currency crises have been all too common in recent years” (Economic Survey of Europe 1999, p. 4). Furthermore, the problems of large and mostly economically non-viable state-owned enterprises have not been fully dealt with. Overall, a degree of macroeconomic stability, institutional transparency, and the avoidance risks of inflation will have significant effects on the progress of reconstruction and development in the region.

A lack of economic cooperation in the region is also problematic. Trade among countries of the SEE region is almost insignificant, often reaching less than one percent of total trade. Some of the currently existing integration efforts at this level, mainly the Royaumont Initiative and SECI, are still at a stage where participating governments are only testing the waters, even in the sphere of economic cooperation.¹³ This is mainly due to the fact that an economic approach is unlikely to overcome political obstacles without a concurrent political confidence-building process which has not yet occurred, especially as ethnic and territorial conflicts could easily escalate before economic measures have an impact. Therefore, “There is a need for political confidence-building measures parallel to economic ones” (Cottey 1999, p, 222), which must take into account the cultural and historical realities of the region.

ASSESSMENT

The last decade has brought significant attention to the SEE region and the Stability Pact is a product of that attention. According to Donald Kursh, Office of the Coordinator of the

Stability Pact (OCSP), SEE was largely ignored by the Europeans and the US in the past. Recent attention is a result of a wide recognition of the need for a proactive policy towards the region. This is now evident in the number of organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, currently active in the region, and by the packages of assistance being provided by individual countries.

The Stability Pact serves as an essential tool for creating and maintaining the momentum for reconstruction and development throughout the SEE region. And although this momentum has lately been fading away, one of the Pact's primary goals is to continue to maintain and reinvigorate the region. However, the success of the Pact depends on its ability to mobilize efforts of the international community, and particularly the EU. Initial momentum also creates a psychological effect that further ensures the commitment of SEE region countries. A perception of success is extremely important; however, success will be possible to sustain only if the Pact delivers on its promises. It is essential and extremely urgent, therefore, to get the assistance program off the ground.

"The Stability Pact is also a framework for addressing issues that may arise in the close future" (Interview, Labus 2000). It is a proactive, preventative, and multidimensional approach to the whole region:

- proactive because it provides a political framework for encouraging the process of stabilization and development in the region
- preventative because it aims at the mitigation and elimination of ethnic tensions and conflict in the region, and
- multidimensional because it encompasses the human, economic, and security dimensions, which must become an integral part of all development efforts.

Similarly, the Pact establishes a framework for cooperation. There is a rational incentive for the countries of the region to seriously consider further prospects for cooperation. As Cottey points out:

Being the left outs of NATO and the EU's first wave enlargement decisions and, given the region's instability, the SEE countries are beginning to perceive regional cooperation as a means of filling the political and security vacuum in the region, avoiding further marginalization and providing channels for closer cooperation and interaction with Western organizations. Regional economic, political, and security cooperation could also help them to meet the criteria for accession to NATO and the EU. Regional cooperation should

thus be understood as an integral part of the wider European integration process” (1999, p. 220).

The Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact has complained about delays in implementation and gaps between commitments and actual delivery. “The problems and delays in getting an effective program of assistance underway for the economies of SEE have been also widely aired, not least by the senior officials of the EC, NATO, and by the heads of the EU governments at their summit meeting in Lisbon in March” (Economic Survey of Europe 2000, No. 1, p. 8). The announcement of a quick-start package of projects and initiatives, in light of emerging gaps between assistance pledges and actual delivery, underscores the slow implementation of the Pact and, maybe, even a lack of serious commitment on the part of the EU. The EU’s support of the Pact has been significant primarily in the rhetoric of EU and EC officials, resembling early arguments of protagonists of the Marshall Plan. Unfortunately, as Kurek stated (Interview, 1999), their rhetoric falls short if not also backed by action. On the other hand, the announcement of a quick-start package does demonstrate wide recognition of a need to maintain the initial momentum that the Pact created. Much of its future success will depend on whether projects proposed under the quick-start package are timely and effectively implemented.

The biggest setback for prompt implementation of projects so far has been the fragmented manner in which the assistance is provided. The Stability Pact itself does not provide an independent fund from which aid for projects and programs may be disbursed according to the objectives and immediate, as well as long-term, needs of the Pact. Rather, current aid is provided only on a case-by-case basis from bilateral and multilateral sources. As a result, a large gap exists between promises to provide assistance and actual disbursements. Moreover, projects do not reflect the interests of the people of the SEE region but rather the interests of the donors. This fragmented approach to assistance may prove to be fatal, as the donor community will begin to perceive the region as sufficiently stabilized, a region without a significant outward flow of refugees, or without the need for significant military involvement. Such a perspective could undermine prospects for long-term development. More importantly, such an approach has significant psychological consequences, as delays in action engender further disillusionment in the region.

As stated by Hrustanovic,¹⁴ “No solution is possible without the leadership and commitment of a united international community” (2000, p. 185). Any recovery and development program must be backed by a strongly committed and effective leadership with a clearly defined vision and strategies¹⁵ and the ability to make decisions that will support this vision on all sides of the spectrum. The EU has not provided leadership that is long-term oriented, given the unfavorable legacy of the past decades. Short-term strategies and lip service will not suffice to overcome the region’s difficulties.

CONCLUSION

The Stability Pact is a much smaller response to the troubles of the SEE region than the response of the US to post-war Western Europe, in the form of the Marshall Plan. Moreover, the Pact lacks the vision and commitment of the Marshall Plan. The Stability Pact is mainly a framework for coordinating assistance to the SEE region. As such, the Pact is a poor substitute for a comprehensive and a long-term strategy.

Actions of the Western participants in the Stability Pact suggest that their intentions of long-term SEE stabilization and development are unclear. Their efforts are unresponsive, fragmented, and they fall short of their rhetoric, while the region of SEE remains undemocratic, ethnically intolerant, economically backward, and fragmented. The behavior of EU officials suggests that they do not see long-term stability and development in SEE as urgent, and consequently, that it is not a priority on their agendas.

The current policy toward the SEE region lacks a vision and a specific and comprehensive plan to deal with reconstruction, development, and integration. Carl Bildt, the UN Special Representative to the Balkans told the Balkan Eye that Balkan reconstruction faces a fundamental hurdle in the absence of such a strategy. According to Bildt, "It is less a question of too many cooks spoiling the broth; it is more that we don't have a recipe" (Mangasarian 2000, p. 2). As a consequence, all that Europe will be able to do in SEE, given its unresponsive, fragmented assistance and undelivered promises, will be to maintain a barely stabilized region — one comprised of undemocratic and underdeveloped countries, a region without a significant outward flow of refugees, and one without need for significant military commitment.

The Stability Pact has drawn significant international attention to the region and created an essential momentum for the recovery and development of the region. However, it continually fails to deliver on many of its promises and to act promptly at a crucial time for the region of SEE. As a consequence, many invested parties have mixed emotions about the Pact. As Kursh observed (Interview, 2000), "The Stability Pact is not a failure, but it is not a success either."

Present experience with the Stability Pact shows that only the people of the SEE region themselves hold the power to break with the past and to embark on a path of economic development that will benefit all people of the region. Nevertheless, the efforts of the people of SEE will require significant assistance from a committed international community with a clear vision and a clear strategy.

ENDNOTES

1. SEE refers to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and Romania.

2. The most active countries with the most initiatives are Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, and neutral Switzerland.

3. Economic effects of the conflict were felt by many Central and Eastern European countries, especially Romania, Bulgaria, and, to a lesser extent, Hungary, but also by Greece and Turkey. This was mainly to the destruction of infrastructure, and especially navigation of the Danube. The economic impact of the conflicts on most EU member states was not significant because all of the economies of SEE together account for only a very small fraction of the EU market. "These countries are simply not major markets for EU exporters and are even less important as competitors to EU industry and agriculture. Excluding Bulgaria and Romania, they account for less than one percent of extra EU imports and, of course, much less of the EU market, if EU production and intra-EU trade are included" (WB Document 2000, p. 53).

4. As a result of the conflict in Bosnia, Germany alone received 350,000 refugees from the SEE region. The issue of foreign residents is extremely controversial in Europe. Foreigners from SEE very often have links to organized crime. The Bundeskriminalamt (Germany's FBI) warned in its 1998 report that Kosovo Albanians are the second largest foreign group involved in German organized crime. "The report went on to warn that any new influx of Kosovo refugees would lead to a swift deterioration" (Mangasarian 2000, p. 5). In Switzerland, Kosovo Albanians are the largest minority group and also one that is very poorly integrated (Mangasarian 2000).

5. Cf. Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe, 1999.

6. The Stability Pact establishes that commitments with respect to the human dimension undertaken through the membership of states in the OSCE are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all states participating in the Stability Pact and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the state concerned.

7. Conversions are based on the June 2001 exchange rates.

8. The share of trade of the southeastern countries with the EU ranges from 60 percent to 90 percent (Cf. Economic Survey of Europe, No.2, 1999).

9. Kosovo and Montenegro are now part of the Euro-DM area. Bulgaria and Bosnia are already linked with a Euro-DM currency board.

10. Cf. *The Road to Stability and Prosperity in South East Europe: A Strategic Approach*, 2000.

11. SEE-5 refers to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

12. The Marshall Plan delivered 13 billion dollars over a period of four years. In 1997 dollars, the Marshall aid package would amount to 86 billion dollars or 1.26 percent of the US Gross National Product.

13. While the Royaumont Initiative is essentially political, aiming to promote stability and good-neighborliness in the sub-region, SECI operates in the area of economic cooperation. In both cases, cooperation has been mainly in the area of low politics. Other regional groupings in which some of the countries of the region participate are the Central European Initiative (CEI) and the Black Sea Economic Council (BSEC).

14. Hrustanovic was Deputy Minister of Finance of Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1987 to 1993.

15. Few analysts seem to show reservations to the WB strategy as it promotes a “one fit all” approach of macroeconomic stabilization and market liberalization. The strategy failed to take fully into account economic differences among the countries of the region. As stated by Gligorov in the *Balkan Eye*, “The failure of the transition has placed the Balkans on a different trajectory. Failure has consequences” (Mangasarian 2000, p. 3).

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TURNING THEIR BACKS ON THE “*MENINO DOS OLHOS DO BRASIL*”: UPPER CLASS RESISTANCE TO THE DENGUE CAMPAIGN

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ABSTRACT

Dengue, a viral disease transmitted by the mosquito “*aedes aegypti*,” poses a significant health problem in Fortaleza, Brazil. With three major epidemics in the past 15 years, the city went on high alert as cases climbed to more than 2,400 in the first three months of 2000. Officials noticed increasing noncompliance with the dengue control program among the upper class. The purpose of this project was to determine the reason for non-compliance. Ethnographic interviews with members of the upper class, lower class, and health officials working with the program, as well as participant observation on home visits with the health agents, were undertaken.

The upper class employs three mechanisms of resistance to avoid participation in the program: denial, blame, and suspicion. They believe their elite status as the dominant group in power obviates the need for them to participate in the dengue control program in their neighborhoods. As a result, the upper class is misinformed about the program and the disease itself, and they believe only the poor are at risk of contracting the disease. The current dengue control scheme needs to be modified to address these issues. Significant barriers remain to be conquered before the dengue epidemic in Fortaleza is extinguished.



INTRODUCTION

Dengue is a serious disease in tropical and subtropical countries, with at least 50 million documented cases per year and over two billion people at risk of acquiring the infection. The bite of a female “*aedes aegypti*” mosquito transmits the virus, producing an acute flu-like

illness (dengue fever), a hemorrhagic fever (DHF), or shock (DSS). Subsequent infections with dengue increase the likelihood of developing DHF or DSS (White 99, pp. 1401-2). There is no treatment for dengue, but over-the-counter medications such as Tylenol and home remedies such as tea are used to alleviate the symptoms (Interview, Santiago. April 12, 2000).

Dengue has been a problem in Fortaleza, Brazil, since 1986 when two tourists from Southern Brazil introduced the infection (*Retrospective Study* 1999, pp. 155-9). Several epidemics have occurred over the past 15 years, including one in 1994, in which serology tests indicated that 45.7 percent of the population was infected (*Alerta* Brochure, no date). Rising numbers of cases at the start of 2000 put Fortaleza once again on high alert. Raimundo Sampáio de Paula, Health Agent Supervisor for Region 2 in Fortaleza, called dengue the “menino dos olhos do Brasil” (the “child with the eyes of Brazil”) — young, charming, and seemingly docile and, at the same time, street-smart, potentially volatile, complex, and omnipresent (Interview April 17, 2000).

Fortaleza, the capital of the State of Ceará, is the fifth largest city in Brazil and is divided into the city and its periphery. The city consists mainly of commercial sectors and upper and middle class neighborhoods, while the periphery is predominantly lower class (Interview Oliveira, April 14, 2000).

The climate of Fortaleza is semi-arid, with rainfall concentrated in the months of March through May followed by a long dry period. Occasionally, the rains fail altogether in which case water is rationed, and residents store water in buckets and bowls to use when public water is not available. These storage containers become prime breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

Unlike other infectious diseases in Northeast Brazil such as cholera and chagas, dengue is not solely linked to underdevelopment. It is the most “democratic” of infectious diseases — its vector breeds in clean water and “chooses” its victims without regard to race, socio-economic status, or age (*Preventing Dengue*, no date); yet, a popular notion prevails that dengue is a disease of the *favela* (slum), a disease of the poor. Ironically, in Fortaleza, affluent neighborhoods are among the hardest hit, contributing to the persistence of dengue in the area by resisting participation in the dengue campaign.

This paper investigates the attitudes of upper class residents toward dengue, disease proliferation, and the implications of the pervading idea of a synergistic relationship between poverty and infection. The terms “upper class” and “wealthy” are used synonymously, indicating a segment of the population that often has professional jobs, own their homes, and enjoys a degree of luxury (automobiles, computer/Internet, servants, etc.) in comparison to the less affluent. The study relies heavily on data collected from fieldwork conducted throughout the city. I visited residences with health agents, spent time at each level of the government’s control program, conducted field excursions to educate the public about the disease, and interviewed members of the upper and lower classes concerning their attitudes toward the disease.

It is important to note that not every member of the upper class or lower class can be categorized as having the same attitudes and reactions discussed in this report. If this were the case, resistance to the campaign would have been much higher and the numbers of afflicted would be much more pronounced between the classes. However, overall differences in disease perception between the classes are reflected in trends revealed through interviews and field research, warranting a closer look into the social dynamics of disease proliferation.

THE SURVEILLANCE SCHEME

Three levels of government — federal, state, and municipal — comprise the dengue surveillance effort. The dengue control program in Fortaleza was established in 1986, when the first cases were reported. In the second half of 1997, visits to homes by mosquito control and health agents were halted due to a lack of funds. As a result, mosquito infestation rates rose from less than one percent in early 1997 to 5.6 percent at the end of the year (*Boletim* 1999). The government realized the importance of continuing the control program and has since taken a more active stance.

Surveillance consists of careful monitoring of circulating strains, case detection, calculation of infestation rates, mosquito elimination through larvacide or fumigation, and health education through media and community outreach (*Plano* 1996). Despite these efforts, the number of cases continues to rise. In the first trimester of 2000 when this project was undertaken, 2,403 cases were reported (*Informe 2000*).

Fortaleza is divided into six regions which are further subdivided into districts and neighborhoods staffed by 1,500 health agents, supervisors, and directors employed by any of the three levels of government. Health agents are mostly from the lower economic bracket, primarily because the physical labor, long hours, and low wages (\$100 U.S per month) pre-select those willing to perform the duties (Interview Paula, April 19, 2000).

There are 740,000 properties requiring visits from health agents every 15 days for strategic points (tire stores and construction areas) and every 30 days for residential homes. Health agents educate the public and eliminate deposits of mosquito larvae around the home. Each visit begins with a discussion of the disease and is followed by careful inspection of the exterior and the interior of the home in the company of the homeowner. Areas of focus include sinks, plants, storage containers, bathroom drains, trash areas, and drinking water reserves. All sites of potential larval formation are treated with larvacide. A registration form must be signed and displayed on the back of the front door, signifying that the house was inspected (Interview Porto, April 17, 2000).

VISITS WITH HEALTH AGENTS

Stark differences exist between attitudes of the upper and lower class regarding home visits by the health agents. Two visits to homes, one in Aldeota, one of the wealthiest

neighborhoods in the city, and the other in a *favela* in Vicente Pizón illustrate situations that health agents encounter daily.

ALDEOTA

The home of Mr. ___ is located behind gates and trees in a wealthy section of Aldeota. We stood in front of the house and clapped to get the attention of the residents, a tradition analogous to knocking on the front door. A tiny old woman appeared from around the corner and yelled out, “What do you want?” We explained that we were health agents for the dengue control program. She disappeared for several minutes and then came out again to the front porch. “What do you want with us?” The supervisor explained that we wanted to look for mosquitoes. “We don’t have mosquitoes here,” she yelled back, still a good 100 meters from us. The supervisor explained that it was a routine visit and said, “Let me talk to Mr. ___.” She looked at us suspiciously and responded curtly, “Just him,” pointing at the supervisor.

The supervisor entered the gate and went to the window where an old man, the homeowner, was watching the scene. As the supervisor approached, the old man yelled, “Stop.” The supervisor again tried to explain the work, but the owner was obviously nervous and asked the man to leave. The health agent (a woman) and I were allowed to enter. We talked to the man at the window, explaining our work. He left us mid-sentence, and the servant accompanied us as we began our task. The property was filled with large potted plants and several dead tree stumps — prime larva breeding grounds. A large section of the backyard contained accumulated junk, from metal objects to used plastic water bottles. After emptying the rainwater from each of the 40 bottles, we discovered a metal cooking pan lying on the floor. A quick look revealed a pocket of mosquito larvae. The health agent brought the pan to the front porch and called for the homeowner to see. He glanced at it and ordered the backyard cleaned. An hour later, we finished examining the exterior and went indoors to inspect the home. All suspicious areas identified both inside and outside were treated (Site visit, April 19, 2000).

A FAVELA VISIT

Mrs. ___ lives in a tiny three-room house with dirt floors and brick walls. An energetic woman in her 60s, she was knowledgeable about dengue, anticipated our questions, and supplied the answers before we finished our sentence. I asked her where she had received her information, and she responded that she was accustomed to the health visits. We began our inspection with Mrs. ___ closely following us. She was worried, since several bottles from her neighbor were in her yard and she did not want us to think she was not taking care of her home. We assured her we would visit the neighbor next. On the front porch, all bottles were meticulously placed mouth down, and the trash was contained in a plastic grocery bag. We found no suspicious sites outdoors and commenced the indoor inspection. No larval deposits were found, but potential sites were targeted with larvacide.

These were typical reactions encountered on the visits. The wealthy were generally suspicious and wary of the health visits. Typically, the homeowner did not accompany us on

the visit and instead sent a servant. In lower income areas, we usually talked to a well-informed woman who had already received and incorporated information about the dengue program into her home (Site visit, April 17, 2000).

RESISTANCE IN THE UPPER CLASS

Dr. Sivanda Oliveira, Director of the Dengue Control program at the National Health Foundation, acknowledged that noncompliance with the dengue campaign was on the rise. "In this work, we have resistance that is a little high: 8-11 percent (of the upper class or general population)." These figures are estimates from reports from each district indicating the number of residences that did not comply with a house visit from a health agent (Interview, April 14, 2000). According to health agents, the largest number of people resisting the dengue campaign are those in the upper class. Those resisting the campaign are "doctors, owners of restaurants, nurses," persons with a "busy life" who are away from home frequently and do not take care of their own home" (Interviews with Rocha, Costa, and Cunha, April 14, 2000). Resistance in poorer areas is much less, only around one to two percent (Interview, Oliveira. April 14, 2000).

During the rainy season, water deposits are more common, especially in areas of construction and in larger, unkempt homes. This is particularly true in Aldeota which has a growing number of construction areas for new shopping malls, apartments, and luxury homes. Aldeota is also a tourist zone. As a result, many inhabitants are only temporary residents in their building, renting for a month or two out of the year; hence, unused pools, bathrooms, and water fountains constitute a major problem (Interviews, Rocha, Costa, and Cunha. April 14, 2000).

Aldeota was a focus of concern, with the highest number of dengue cases (152) of all neighborhoods in 1999 (*Alerta*, no date). Because of past precedents, authorities were concerned. Mosquito infestation rates were more than 11 percent. The average for the city was 5.8 percent, and a rate of less than one percent is required to minimize the risk of dengue transmission. In the first three months of 2000, 55 cases were reported in Aldeota alone (*Informe 2000*). Aldeota, along with other upscale sections of the city, was considered an area of high risk (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000). Yet, most upper class residents were aware of the dengue control program, thanks to years of television propaganda, posters, and newspaper ads. Why they did not participate in the program, then, requires a closer look into the social dynamics of the upper class in Fortaleza.

THE STIGMA OF DISEASE

The Brazilian elite's control of most of the power and money has created a systematic distortion of reality. Blanketed in luxury, cleanliness, and security, they do not question the poverty that surrounds them (Ryan 1996).

From the perspective of the rich, the poor live in slums characterized by faulty structures, garbage, poor sanitation, and an irregular water supply (Nations 1996). Metaphors of dirtiness and filth are associated with the lower class, with the poor seen as social problems, deviant from society's standards. One author (Goffman 1986) describes this phenomenon quite extensively in his work where he describes stigma as an attribute that makes one different from others in a less desirable way. As a result, the stigmatized person is thought of as bad, dangerous, or weak, and thereby reduced in our minds from a whole person to a tainted and discounted one.

The stigma of living in poor areas has created easy scapegoats for societal problems — epidemics and strikes — and the upper class blame the poor. Because the poor are often most susceptible to illness, public health efforts are usually targeted toward them; this, however, perpetuates the perception by the rich of the poor as disease-ridden. The poor are seen as ignorant, avoiding rational efforts to prevent illness and resisting efforts to provide care to them (Ryan 1996). When the disease finds its way into the inner circle, the rich blame the poor for contaminating them while maintaining a perception of themselves as clean, healthy, moral citizens (Personal communication, Nations. April 16, 2000).

Ironically, the elite are now encountering a worse dengue epidemic than the poor. Because the dengue mosquito breeds in clean water, the idea of the dirty *favela* housing the disease, is no longer valid. It is equally probable that large unused swimming pools, water fountains, and vacant apartments are foci for larvae (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000). The rich, however, continue to insist that they are separate from the poor, “teeming” with disease (Scott 1990).

The elite resist participation in the dengue campaign in symbolic defiance, denying any role in the epidemic. Unfortunately, this has resulted in an even larger number of dengue cases among the upper class. Three mechanisms of resistance employed by the wealthy to evade responsibility for the incidence of dengue are denial, blame, and suspicion.

DENIAL

Most residents of the upper class do not believe that mosquitoes exist in their neighborhoods. Marcos (names have been changed), a retired sanitary engineer in an affluent neighborhood, stated that because his neighborhood is 20 meters above sea level, it was unlikely that mosquitoes would travel to this higher elevation to breed, especially when the rest of Fortaleza is only five meters above sea level. When I asked him if there were mosquitoes in his area, he informed me that there were a “few,” but he appeared confident that these mosquitoes were not the ones that transmitted dengue (Interview, Freire. April 17, 2000). Felipe, an Aldeota law student, claimed that he did not have contact with mosquitoes because he was in air conditioning all day long: at work, in his car, and at home (Interview, Araujo. April 26, 2000). During a time of epidemic, however, one cannot exclude the possibility of being bitten by a mosquito because these affluent neighborhoods are infested with mosquitoes at an unusually high rate.

The health agents said that in the rich areas, the homeowners “don’t stop to listen.” Often, the agents were told: “I already know something. I don’t need any more [information]” (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000). Only upper class individuals who had already contracted dengue, or knew a relative or friend with the disease, listened to the health agents. Manuel admitted that the only reason he listened to the health agents was because his wife had dengue last month (Interview, Dias. April 27, 2000). One health agent commented, “They know everything, they say. But you know what you tell them goes in one ear and out the other” (Interview, Rocha. April 14, 2000).

Most of the homeowners the health agents encountered in Aldeota were “so preoccupied with other things that they never think about dengue” (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000). During one visit in Aldeota, the health agent informed the homeowner of a problem — glass and plastic bottles he kept in his porch easily collected water. While the health agent was talking, the man kept looking at his watch. The agent asked if the man was busy, and he replied that yes, he was. The health agent explained to him that if he got dengue, that he would have to spend at least five days in bed and would not be able to make any of his appointments. The homeowner then listened to the health agent make his recommendations (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000).

Denial of the disease state is also prevalent. Last May, both Rita (wife of Marcos, the sanitary engineer) and her daughter fell ill with symptoms of dengue. Instead of going to the doctor, Rita called a doctor friend who told her it was probably dengue. Both cases went unreported, since a doctor’s visit would confirm a laboratory diagnosis of the disease and be reported to the government. Rita wanted to treat the illness at home and did not feel the need to go to a doctor (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000). There was also the possibility that because of the negative connotations associated with having a poor person’s disease, she did not want anyone else to know.

BLAME

According to the rich, the poor deserve to get dengue because they do not consult a doctor when ill. Francisco, a lawyer, psychologist, and federal police official, claimed, “The poor do not know how to care for their health. They never go to the doctor.” He explained, “It only seems that there are more cases in the city because there are a large number of unreported cases in the periphery” (Interview, Luna. April 26, 2000).

Another common mechanism that the rich used to assign responsibility for dengue was to blame a neighbor. Television propaganda about the dengue campaign claimed that it was not enough for you to be doing your own part, but your neighbor must do his part, too (Interview, M. Freire. April 17, 2000). Two friends of Heloisa’s family fell ill to dengue. This was a surprise, for they were wealthier than Heloisa, a professor and daughter of a famous businessman. They contracted dengue from within their own home but believed it was from a mosquito that came over from a neighbor’s yard (Interview, Cunha. April 26, 2000).

Maria added that dengue was spread through the movement of people: “The people that live there, come here [Aldeota]. People in the periphery work here as maids and doormen

and bring the disease with them.” Those at fault for bringing dengue to the rich neighborhoods were the working poor (Interview, Silva. April 20, 2000).

SUSPICION

The larvacide allocated in water reserves is dubbed “poison” by the rich (Interviews with Freire, Santos, Luna). In contrast, the poor referred to the larvacide simply as “powder” or “remedy” (Interview, Rodrigues. April 22, 2000). Although it is benign to humans in the concentrations used, Rita revealed that she washed out the “poison” after the health agent visited. Her rationale was that her daughter had asthma and she was afraid that the larvacide would harm her (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000).

Another problem that the dengue control program faced was the fear among the rich that criminals may masquerade as health agents, which has happened in the past, though infrequently. Because of this, many people were afraid to open their doors to the agents. “Robbers have discovered other ways to assault people. They assault ‘Moto Boys’ [motorcycle deliveries], take their clothes, and pretend to be them, bringing the medicine or other delivery items to the home. They say that they are bringing you something, and you are expecting it. When you open the door, they enter and assault you.” Robbers, posing as health agents, could also easily gain access to vulnerable homes. The main reason for refusal to allow health agents into the home was fear of violence. “Those who rob do not need the money for food. They need it for drugs,” Rita added (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000).

Jorge, the owner of a gym, heard about assaults happening frequently. “I don’t allow anyone to enter. It is more of a protection, principally in the elite neighborhoods. The identification card is easy to forge. Any person can do it.” A large part of the problem was that few health agents had official documentation from their health offices, and uniforms were different among local, state, and federal employees, evidence of the repercussions of bureaucracy and the lack of a central department for the control program. Jorge offered a solution: “The health agents should take more care with their appearance and hygiene so that the elite will let them enter.” He explained, the “agents are usually poor people. The rich think he is a thief because of his appearance” (Interview, Xavier. April 26, 2000).

THE RESULT OF RESISTANCE MECHANISMS

Because of their reluctance to participate in the program, the rich are misinformed. “There are few health agents,” remarked Rita, when in fact there are more than 1,000 in Fortaleza (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000; *Servidores*, no date). Another misconception is that health agents work only when there is an epidemic: “They need to work on preventing the disease” (Interview, Santos. April 23, 2000). In fact, the program has been running year round since its inception in 1986.

One problem I encountered was trying to discover if the rich actually allowed health agents into their homes. While Maria told me that health agents always had access to her home, her daughter leaned over to whisper in my ear, “She never lets them enter.” Maria

displayed her ignorance when she said that the larvacide eliminated other diseases as well, such as cholera and leptospirosis. In fact, the larvacide is used only to kill the dengue larvae (Interview, Silva. April 20, 2000).

The lack of knowledge due to the resistance of the rich to participate in the program has resulted in various bizarre explanations for the number of dengue cases. One health agent in Aldeota joked about a resident who asked if he would get cholera if he ingested mosquito larva (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000). Oblivious to the fact that the mosquito prefers clean water, Heloisa claimed, “join water and filth, and the mosquitoes return” (Interview, Cunha. April 26, 2000). Maria subscribed to a routine of cleanliness to prevent “contamination.” She was especially concerned since she believed that dengue could be spread by casual contact. “You can never know who can bring the disease into your home. It is everywhere. A person with dengue can go put their mouth on the drinking fountain . . .” (Interview, Silva. April 20, 2000). In fact, there is no human-human transmission of the disease.

HOW THE WEALTHY EXPLAIN THE CASES IN AFFLUENT AREAS

Those who were interviewed were asked to explain the large numbers of cases in both the poor and rich areas. Francisco believed that neighborhoods such as Aldeota have less dengue than in the periphery. “The government takes care of these neighborhoods with paved roads and sanitation services.” When I showed him the Aldeota statistics, he did not seem fazed. He responded, “Because there is a *favela* in Aldeota. They do not take care of themselves in the *favela*” (Interview, Luna. April 26, 2000).

João exclaimed, “Aldeota! It is a rich neighborhood. It should not have dengue.” He explained that residents think their neighborhood has a good sanitation and sewer system, so they need not worry. “They can forget the details because they are a rich neighborhood” (Interview, Santos. April 23, 2000).

Marcos completely discredited the statistics shown to him. “There is no way that areas such as Aldeota can have such high levels of cases and infestation,” he asserted (Interview, Freire. April 17, 2000).

UPHOLDING THE ELITE STATUS QUO

The rich believe that the poor are hosts for disease. There are many who thought that dengue would pick off a rich person here and there, but the culprit was an infected poor person. They hold firmly to this notion since contradiction to this would mean that they were, in fact, culpable for not participating in the dengue campaign. According to Marcos, “These people from the interior [rural areas] come in masses to the city and live in very small houses. They set up house wherever they can and in areas that are not sanitary. They go to the bathroom in the same place that they throw their trash” (Interview, Freire. April 17, 2000). Maria agreed: those that need to be concerned about dengue are the “very poor,”

those that live near riverbanks, where they “accumulated trash.” “The poor do not know how to care for their homes like clean people” (Interview, Silva. April 20, 2000). Rita added, “An open sewer favors the disease.” When reminded the mosquito favors clean water, Rita interjected, “The sewer has clean water too!” Francisco was not concerned: “For the rich, his house is clean. Mosquitoes won’t enter” (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000).

The rich claimed that the poor, because of their ignorance, do not pay attention to any information that is given to them. Rita proposed a solution: more television propaganda during evening soap operas, because “those are the shows the poor people watch and, because they are illiterate, it is the easiest way to get information to them” (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000). Francisco disagreed: “For me and you it is different. You watch the propaganda and you understand. But the poor, no. He is ignorant and it [propaganda] passes and he forgets. Why? Because filth is so common in his home that he has become accustomed to it” (Interview, Luna. April 26, 2000).

Shame is associated with contracting a disease of the *favela*. One of the health agents in Aldeota recounted, “A young boy in Aldeota came down with dengue. The mother would not allow the UBV [fumigation] team to come to their apartment for she did not want her neighbors to know that they were afflicted with a poor person’s disease. She was ashamed” (Interviews, Anjos and Meneses. April 19, 2000).

Who are the poor that the rich describe as getting dengue? Her lips curled in disgust, Rita whispered, “The periphery is filled with drug dealers, with gangs. It is dirty and dangerous.” According to her, these people are “marginalized, black, dirty, and lack education. Why do people live like that?” (Interview, Freire. April 25, 2000). However, Vicente, who worked in a *favela*, said that many “good people” live there too. “Most of the rich have never stepped into Pirambú. How would they know what is here?” (Interview, Nunes. April 30, 2000).

THE POOR REBUT: WE DO NOT CARRY THIS DISEASE

The upper class fault the poor for being ignorant, but in the health agent’s experience, persons in the lower classes accept the work of the health agent more easily. “The poor are happy that at last there is one thing that does not fall on them” (Interview, Rodrigues. April 22, 2000). While they did not criticize or blame the upper class for resistance to the campaign, stinging remarks reflect their frustration at being blamed for the dengue epidemic. Rosa, a resident of the periphery, drew a parallel between the rich and a child, explaining the behavior of the rich concerning their fear of assaults and letting the health agents into their homes: “I am not scared, but my daughter, a child, she is scared. I am stronger, more informed. If she opens the door and it is someone she doesn’t recognize, she is scared. I cannot take this fear away from her.” Similarly, it would be hard to take away the fear of the rich. “We [the poor] know that the world is full of bad and good people. Sometimes, there are robberies and, for this, we shouldn’t criticize the rich for not opening their doors. But, we have robberies too” (Interview, Rodrigues. April 22, 2000). The ability to deal with this reality distinguishes the poor from the rich.

The poor also have a different view of the health agents. “The health agents keep us well. Prevention is very important” (Interview, Rodrigues. April 22, 2000). Patricia confirmed, “The health agents are well received. We greatly respect their work.” She admitted that there used to be places in her home where water accumulated, but the health agent helped her fix those problems. Now, “when a health agent arrives, I say ‘Thank God, take a look!’” (Interview, Ramos. April 22, 2000).

I asked Rosa why there are so many cases in Aldeota. There was no mention of *favelas*, servants bringing in the disease, or the possibility of statistics being inaccurate. “It is because people are not listening to the health agents. I am a conscientious person. I know that any person can get dengue. It is not dirty water that will attract the mosquito. A lot of mosquitoes must be proliferating there. They think, ‘My water is clean, everything is ok’” (Interview, Rodrigues. April 22, 2000). Patricia agreed, “With clean water, any person can get it. You can find it in any home.” Rosa summed their opinion: “I don’t think that Aldeota has any reason to be refusing the visits. They have a preconception that prevents them from opening their door to the agents. They don’t believe in the propaganda on television. It will get the poor, the rich, the black, and the white. It does not matter” (Interview, Ramos. April 22, 2000).

TUDO É FECHADO

In an effort to block dengue from infiltrating their inner circle, the elite have adopted a policy of being *fechado* or closed. They live behind gates and security, with unopened windows, guard dogs, and maids that answer doors, always afraid they will encounter something that will harm their family. Without a widespread community effort, it is unlikely the epidemic will subside anytime soon. The rich have little contact with neighbors, a barrier to the spread of information. Heloisa remarks on interaction within her high-rise complex of 45 apartments: “We meet sometimes in the elevator, but as for contact, no, there is none” (Interview, Cunha. April 26, 2000). Doors remain closed to health agents, and interaction with people in the campaign is from a distance. This is illustrated by the reaction as the fumigation truck passes by: “We joke around saying: ‘Oh, the dengue truck is arriving. Close the doors, close the windows, run away’” (Interview, Cunha. April 26, 2000). By shutting their doors, the rich are symbolically attempting to keep out dengue, but they are falling victim to this disease because of a lack of information.

SUMMARY

The rich use denial, blame, and suspicion to avoid participation in the dengue control program. As a result, the upper class is deficient in dengue knowledge and falls victim to the disease. Their *fechado* policy remains a barrier to health officials attempting to educate them. The upper class must participate in the dengue campaign and do their part to ensure that larval deposits are minimized.

Firmly ingrained beliefs of the upper class lead to misconceptions regarding the risk of contracting dengue. Changing this perspective can be achieved through minor adjustments in the campaign:

1. Alter propaganda to address more risk factors in rich neighborhoods, such as commercials depicting a large house, with a garden and a pool. Current propaganda depicts young dirt-soiled children, emptying water from tires, and closing large metal containers amid empty liquor bottles.
2. Distribute neighborhood-specific statistics, personalizing the information to each area.
3. Federal, state, and local health agents should wear the same uniform and carry proper identification.
4. One organization should oversee the entire campaign; it should not be divided among three branches of government, each with its own respective bureaucracy.
5. Notify residents via a letter or a phone call that their home will be visited on a certain day.
6. Intensify the visibility of the campaign with posters, commercials, and education in schools.
7. Recruit members of the upper class to serve as volunteer health agents in their own neighborhoods.

CLOSING

The eradication of dengue from Fortaleza is a case example of the importance of the sociology behind the spread of disease. Scientific and medical cure-alls have not been shown to effectively control the disease, forcing a closer look into the socio-cultural factors that influence the epidemiology of dengue. Fortaleza must investigate perceptions of dengue that have hindered proper control efforts. In order to alleviate the present as well as future crises, it is important to start by changing the basic preconception that the poor are the sole carriers of disease. Until this is achieved, Fortaleza will continue to fall victim to non-compliance with the dengue control efforts among the upper class.

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THE NATIONALITY INVESTIGATIONS: DISCOURSES OF EQUALITY AND EVOLUTION IN CHINA'S MINORITY POLICY

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ABSTRACT

In its nascent post-Liberation years, the People's Republic of China (PRC) initiated the Nationality Investigations (NI), a project aimed at solving China's "nationalities problem." In the face of inter-ethnic conflict and various claims to independence, how could the new government under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) judiciously consolidate China's vast diversity of non-Han people into one unified socialist nation? Using a *mélange* of ethnology and socialist theory, the Investigations named each of China's minority nationalities and determined their various states of social evolution.

The NI project restructured the relationship between China's minority periphery and its Han-dominated center. It redefined the principles, theories, and aims of Chinese social sciences. Most importantly, in naming and describing China's nationalities, the Investigations scientifically reified a set of ethnic categories and assumptions. The various nationalities within China's borders became minority-nationality Chinese and, as minorities, they became the objects of various policies and projects which attempted to accelerate minority development toward socialism and integration into a new multiethnic China.



INTRODUCTION: THE SPECTACLE OF NATIONALITIES

Despite its ardent interests in China, Western media have seldom explored the cultural diversity within its borders. My first weeks in Yunnan province, therefore, surprised me with a bombardment of state-promoted images of diversity. It seemed that every television set in the town of Kunming beamed a spectacle of dances, costumes, songs, and customs practiced

by China's minority nationalities. At first glance, I wondered if these exhibitions of diversity weren't intended to counter the images of uniformed masses that had once dominated Western depictions of communist China. It became clear, however, that this spectacle was targeted at local Chinese, not foreigners. I began to ask questions about where these images came from. Why were there exactly 55 minority nationalities? Why did some minorities have autonomous zones and others did not? Why were these minorities persecuted in the 1960s and 1970s and then celebrated throughout the 1990s and today? Why did the Han-dominated government in Beijing invest so much time, money, and effort in presenting China as a multiethnic (*tongminzu*) country?

These questions pointed to the post-Liberation effort by the People's Republic of China (PRC) to engage its entire population of social scientists in solving China's "nationalities problem."¹ Though a complex issue, the nationalities problem posed a distinct question: In the face of ethnic conflict and immense cultural diversity, how could the PRC consolidate China's vast diversity of people into a unified socialist state?

In its nascent post-Liberation years, the People's Republic of China initiated the most thoroughgoing demographic survey in history. The Nationality Investigations² aimed to find a solution to China's nationalities problem through ethnographic fieldwork. The Nationality Investigations targeted China's non-Han populations, which occupied 62 percent of China's land (Yin 1985, p. 1). Consistent with Sun Yatsen's nationalism, the Investigations assumed that the non-Han were a part of China's less culturally advanced population than its Han-Chinese core. In order to unite the nation and bring the minority nationalities into socialism, the PRC had to first determine who the minority nationalities were and how to advance their economies and cultures so that each nationality could function within China's new socialist economy and political system.

Home of 26 of China's nationalities, Kunming offered the perfect arena for me to interview ethnologists who participated in the Nationality Investigations of the 1950s. These ethnologists, now mostly in their 70s and 80s, helped elucidate both the processes and motivations of the Nationality Investigations, which have long defined China's nationality policy and discourse. Supplemented by interviews with current Chinese ethnologists, personal observations, and secondary research, I have compiled the following analysis of the Nationality Investigations and its discourses.

THE CENTER STAR

With five yellow stars suspended in a red field, the modern Chinese flag represents the nation's people, values, and geography with extraordinary terseness. The nationalism embedded in the red flag is twofold. The red of the flag-field is known to symbolize not only communism and sacrifice, but also the Han-Chinese people and the Chinese land. In one corner of this red surface, four small yellow stars revolve around a larger star. Throughout my stay in Yunnan, I was often told that the four small stars represent four of China's 55 national minorities — the Hui, the Tibetans, the Manchus, and the Mongols — but that the

larger star at the center is the Han, China's vanguard ethnic majority that led the nation to socialism. Although such statements were in some ways contradictory to what I had previously read about the Chinese flag,³ they provided me with an image of how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) imagined the process of unifying the vast diversity of China's cultures and nationalities.

In the CCP Constitution, as well as in its ethnology, China's minorities are depicted as culturally and economically behind the Han. One Chinese ethnologist explains:

Many minority regions are still rather backward, economically and culturally. This is an inequality inherited from history. We must seek to eliminate it by accelerating economic and cultural development. The Constitution stipulates: 'The state will help autonomous areas accelerate their economic and cultural development based on the individual characteristics and needs of minorities' (Ma 1985, p. 13).

This statement and quote from the Constitution is representative of the discourses in which the Nationality Investigations were created and carried out. The "backwardness" of the minorities posed a threat to both the unity of the Chinese nation and its Marxist ideology.

In adapting the broad spectrum of socialist theory that flowed into China through Comintern, Japan, and Europe, the CCP faced an equally broad spectrum of contradictions. The Marxist-Leninist proletariat was almost invisible in China. The capitalists and petty bourgeoisie were sequestered from China's peasant majority. And the industrial capitalism that Marx believed would dissolve all nationalisms was confined to a small constellation of cities along the southern and eastern coasts.

Nowhere were these contrasts between Marxist discourse and the Chinese reality of the time as striking as in the 62 percent of China's territory populated by non-Han-Chinese people. In terms of the unilineal social evolution of Marxist theory, the non-Han people were culturally and economically behind even the feudal⁴ economies that defined China's peasant populations and dynastic history. While Soviet and CCP writers drew the analogy between the Chinese peasant and the Industrial proletariat, they found it much more difficult to discern a proletarian counterpart in egalitarian and other pre-feudal economies. Most importantly, many non-Han people identified with nationalities (Tibetan, Uigur, Mongol, Miao) that had long conflicted with the Han-Chinese nation.

Though the CCP went to great lengths to explain its policies of autonomy to the minority nationalities, the Liberation Army often took up arms to liberate such minority areas from certain "enemies" (*diren*) in the minority societies. In Xinjiang, Tibet, Yunnan, and other provinces, this meant battling, killing, or re-educating those who protested CCP authority in minority areas.

This array of contradictions complicated the question of how the PRC could best consolidate the various nationalities. The new government approached its nationalities

problem very differently from how previous dynasties had approached their conflicts with China's border regions. The PRC approached the problem through Marxist science.

THE NATIONALITY INVESTIGATIONS AS SOLUTION TO THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM

When the PRC formally instituted the Nationality Investigations in 1954, the CCP had already struggled for over 20 years with the question of how to unify China's people. Although the Soviet nationalities policy served as an elder brother (*dage*) model, the Soviet system had to be reinterpreted within the context of China — its people, languages, beliefs, and cultures. From the Long March until the devastating Cultural Revolution, the CCP struggled with how to integrate the non-Han into a new “multinational” China.

THE LONG MARCH

During the Long March (1934-1936), Mao led an ailing Red Army into China's western frontier where the pursuing *Guomindang*⁵ had only minimal influence. In these areas, Mao, the CCP leaders, and the Red Army soldiers confronted the extensive cultural and geographical diversities of western China. During this time, it became imperative that the Red Army gain the support of the non-Han people who allowed them access to food and land. Though the Red Army's large number was likely the most convincing factor in eliciting compliance, it became advantageous to articulate a viable national policy concerning the non-Han people.

As the Red Army gained control of China from the northwestern, minority-dominated periphery inwards, it worked to establish a CCP base in Yanan, Shaanxi province. In 1936, the year it founded the Yanan capital, the CCP began to set up its first Hui autonomous county in Tongxin, west of Shaanxi in Ningxia province. To the west of the CCP's base now lay its first Muslim autonomous territory; to the north lay Inner Mongolia. Because the survival of the army was dependent upon minority approval, the CCP launched propaganda campaigns to rally minority support from these neighboring areas.

Edgar Snow observed the slogan: “Build our own anti-Japanese Mohammedan Red Army” on posters hung by Hui soldiers with the XVth Army Corps (Snow 1973, p. 313; Gladney 1991, p. 88). Throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, the CCP rallied minority-nationality support to defend itself against the Nationalist's armies. As the CCP gained this vital support, however, it altered its nationalities policy toward discourses of autonomy (*zizhi*) rather than those of self-determination (*zizue*) and the right of secession, originally guaranteed in its constitution. If the minority nationalities were granted true autonomy, then China would be divided, and the large-scale economy necessary for socialism would be more difficult to attain.

While maintaining a position on autonomy for the minorities, the CCP withdrew the right to secession in 1940. This meant that the CCP from then on would accept nothing less than the fabled national expanse of dynastic China. A larger area could better sustain the large

economy and natural resources necessary for developing socialism. It thus became imperative to design a strategy for integrating the nationalities into the new economy, ideology, and social society.

MAOISM AND NATIONALISM

By Liberation, it was clear that the CCP's nationalities policy would aim to fully integrate minorities into the new state. Concerned about tensions between minority nationalisms and Han nationalism, Mao often wrote about how both Han and minority nationalisms could threaten China's unity. Mao wrote in 1953 that it is:

. . . imperative to foster good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. The key to this question lies in overcoming Han chauvinism. At the same time, efforts should also be made to overcome local nationality chauvinism Both Han chauvinism and local nationality chauvinism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities; they represent one kind of contradiction among the people that should be resolved (Mao 1986, p. 228).

After the Long March and Liberation and, after interethnic conflict in Xinjiang had claimed the life of his brother (Gladney 1991, p. 88), these conflicts and contradictions were more than palpable to Mao. Both Han chauvinism (and nationalism) and minority chauvinism (and nationalisms) threatened to exacerbate already fervent interethnic conflict. Mao and the CCP Central Committee, therefore, consistently pushed for a nationality policy that described all nationalities as integrated parts of one people.

The first step for Mao toward eliminating local nationality and Han chauvinisms was acknowledging all of China's people through Identification. By acknowledging the Mongol as Mongol-Chinese or the Wa as Wa-Chinese, the PRC could recognize the minorities as members of the new nation.

IDENTIFICATION

This task of identifying (*shibie*) the various nationalities was central to unifying the new China and to the Nationalities Identification. In its initial stages, the Investigations approached China's nationalities problem with the intent of understanding how the non-Han should be represented in the National People's Congress, Nationality Affairs Committee, and other areas of government. In his book, *Towards a People's Anthropology*, Fei Xiaotong explains, "In order to determine how the nationalities should be represented, it was necessary to first determine who they were" (Fei 1985, p. 60).

The Investigations' process of categorizing (*shibie*) the minority nationalities loosely followed four criteria that the Soviet Union had used in identifying its various nationalities. In Soviet discourse, as defined by Soviet Commissar of Nationalities, Josef Stalin, nationality was determined by four criteria or "communities": community of language, community of

territory, community of economic cohesion, and community of psychological make-up (Stalin 1942, p. 10). In both the Soviet and Chinese discourses, all of these criteria together were needed to constitute a nationality. That the Han did not meet many of these criteria, most clearly the criteria of language, was intentionally overlooked by the Investigations.

China's ethnologists did not, however, indiscriminately borrow Stalinist criteria. Contrary to Western anthropologists' discussions of China's nationalities identification, the Chinese ethnologists I spoke with maintained that Stalin's third criterion, that of a common economy, was not used for identification. Those involved with the Investigations mentioned a common culture, but not a common economy, as the third criterion.

The inquiry into common economies was instead the subject of the Social History Investigations. A branch of the Identification, the Social History Investigations examined the economies of various nationalities to determine their various stages in a Morganian schema of unilineal evolution. By deciding each society's level of social evolution according to this framework, the PRC hoped to determine how to best advance those societies toward socialism.

INVESTIGATIONS AND THE ACADEMY

On August 30, 1950, the CCP organized four groups of representatives to visit minority areas in the southwest, northwest, northeast, and Mongolia (Zhou 1998, p. 312). These representatives, "the Central Visit-the-Nationalities teams," expressed the sympathies of the central government by offering food and money (Zhou 1998; Guldin 1994). Their official goals were to establish friendly relations, determine the minorities' physical needs, provide medicine and necessities, and "propagandize the Party's nationalities policies so as to strengthen each nationality's inner unity as well as international unity" (Bao 1986, p. 623 cited in Gulin 1994, p. 92). Many social scientists worked on and led these teams that also included government officials, medical personnel, and local cadre. Zhou emphasizes that although there was little time for field research, many articles and experiences that influenced the Investigations came from these interactions (Zhou 1998, p. 312).

In the same year, the PRC entirely reorganized China's university system. This reorganization involved the injection of Party cadres and representatives into various levels of university administration, the closing and merger of several universities, and the closing of all of China's anthropology and sociology departments. The PRC used its ethnologists and sociologists to establish a number of Nationalities Institutes (*minzu xueyuan*) that would train minority cadres and train ethnologists for the Social History Investigations. By 1956, enough ethnologists had been trained in Marxist ethnology and Soviet-Stalinist discourses on nationality to formally begin the Social History Investigations.

The result of this restructuring was two modernizing projects: One was aimed at advancing and assimilating China's minority nationalities so that they could function in the new government and socialist society. The second was aimed at advancing China's academic

system toward the science and pragmatism of Marxism. The old academic system was, in Party discourse, “capitalist” and, therefore, archaic because it was based on class privilege rather than serving the needs of the country. Disciplines such as sociology and anthropology were particularly capitalist and suspect because they did not have any unifying application or goal. When the party joined these disciplines into what it defined as ethnology (*minzuxue*), it gave a unified socialist goal to the formerly capitalist elitists of China’s social sciences: to apply ethnology toward consolidating the non-Han into the socialist state. Both projects — the manifest project of advancing the minorities and the tacit one of advancing the academy — aimed at creating a new relationship between the minority periphery and the governing Han center.

RESTRUCTURING MINORITY LIFE

The Nationality Institutes not only restructured Chinese social sciences, but also restructured the relationship between the central Chinese government and China’s non-Han nationalities. By training minority cadres as representatives of the Party in minority areas and in the People’s Congress, the government was able to infuse Party discourse and policy into minority areas through minority education and participation in political bodies. In PRC discourse, the minorities were thus adapting, shedding their backwardness, and participating in reforming their society to join the larger socialist vanguard.

In addition to participation in the new government, several types of special autonomous nationality areas were created. These autonomous areas were, and still are, classified in order of size as autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, and autonomous counties. In theory, the largest autonomous areas, such as Tibet or Xinjiang, should have the highest degree of autonomy. However, these larger minority areas are often the areas where non-Han (sometimes anti-Han) nationalisms and threats of secession and protest are strongest. Accordingly, these are often the most tightly monitored areas rather than the most autonomous.

CATEGORIES OF INVESTIGATION AND IDENTIFICATION

The 1953 census reported over 400 minorities who had applied for minority status (Guldin 1994, p. 106). The census, however, registered only 41 of these minorities as official national minorities. After the Nationality Investigations and Identification campaigns, the 1964 census officially registered 53 nationalities. The 1982 census registered three more nationalities for an official total of 56, which included the Han (Gladney 1991, p. 18). The number of officially registered minority nationalities was 55. This figure contained the number of Sun Yat-sen’s five people and the number of stars on the flag, since the number five is so revered by Han-Chinese culture, and doubling it to 55 resulted in an even more auspicious number.

Although the PRC clearly went to great lengths to create a practical taxonomy of China's people, many of the national minority categories are still in dispute. Although many Western ethnographers argue that this is because the Investigations were used merely to justify existing categories, it seems that the emphasis on national unity in the Investigations was the prime reason for the Identification's creation of so many contested nationality categories. It is more useful, perhaps, to look at how redefining the minority nationality categories was advantageous to the development of PRC minority policy. In discussing the process of Identification, several researchers mentioned that unity of the country was the primary goal. For this reason, they were always encouraged to limit the number of minorities, especially if this facilitated the creation of autonomous regions.

In cases where Identification denied a minority the independent category that they demanded, the phrase *ren* (or "person") is used to describe them. For example, the Mosuo population of southern Sichuan province is officially classified as *Naxizu*. This is the category stamped on all Mosuo *ren* residency permit. *Zu*, meaning "clan" or "family" (or "race" during the first quarter of the twentieth century), is an official category or nationality. Literally, nationality, or *minzu*, translates as "people clan." However, many minorities who do not have official status use the term *zu* unofficially.

One example of a category that was redefined may be helpful — that of the Wa of southern Yunnan. The case of the Wa nationality or *Wazu* is representative of how the Investigations were designed to work. First, the various Investigation researchers were trained to focus on class struggle and oppression in the Wa economy. Second, the researchers were sent to southern Yunnan, often accompanied by the army for protection. In Yunnan, they conducted interviews and fieldwork while living in various Wa areas. One Investigation ethnologist explained, "Many of the Wa did not want to be Wazu. However, our research showed that they were one group at various economic stages." When I challenged him about some of the groups consolidated as Wa, he countered, "That the Wa are the Wa is objective reality. Even though there are problems, it was necessary for us to make them one group in order to create one autonomous area. It wasn't what everyone wanted, but it was the best choice for China's stability." Beijing approved the category of Wazu promptly after it was proposed.

Some categories reified by the Investigations were easily adopted by the people affected by the Investigation ethnologists' classifications. While in Yunnan province and in Shanghai, for example, I never heard the Mosuo people (*Mosuoren*) referred to by their official titles as either *Naxizu* or *Mosuoren*, except by Chinese anthropologists and in official literature. In day-to-day use by Western Chinese in both Yunnan province and in Shanghai, I always heard *Mosuo*, a title officially denied to the Mosuo. The Mosuo contest their official nationality of *Naxizu* because they see themselves as a distinct group. Some identify more with the Tibetan nationality (*zangzu*) than the Naxi, with whom they share neither a common language, culture, economy, nor territory. Still other categories such as *Miaozu* (meaning "weeds") for southern Hmong populations are contested because of their disparaging connotation.

Despite the occasional mention of creating new categories, for China's Jewish population (*youtairen*), for example, the categories of national minorities in official discourse now seem fixed. In practice, of course, the case is different. Categories are challenged and disputed. While cases like the *Huizu* are almost universally embraced, many of the categories such as *Lizu* and *Miao*, once ethnic slurs used by the Han, do not reflect the minority nationalities' own categories for themselves.

A PLACE FOR MINORITY

To some degree, the CCP category of "national minority" has justified the right of the Han-Chinese to rule over them. In CCP discourse, the minority must never fracture the strength of the majority. This is the argument generally given by the PRC for its crackdowns in Tibet, Yunnan, Mongolia, and Xinjiang. Through the Investigations, the Investigation ethnologists created 55 official categories for China's minorities, thereby creating spaces for them in the Chinese political system and, in theory, Chinese society. By being officially recognized, they were seen as different from the Han-Chinese, but nevertheless recognized as Chinese. By granting a range of special rights to the minorities, as well as special positions in government, the CCP has created a semblance of minority autonomy (since the 1980s) that is often accepted by minorities living in non-contested territories of China.

The Social History Investigations not only shaped a place for the non-Han in the definition of who is Chinese, they also created a place for the minorities in China's history. By allocating each society to a stage or transitional stage of social evolution (the Wa, for example, were found to be at five different stages), the Investigations also situated each nationality at various stages on the road to China's eventual socialism.

In providing seemingly scientific evidence for the minorities' inferior place in the Marxist-Morganian schema of unilineal cultural evolution, the Investigations created a need for the PRC to catalyze their development towards socialism. Thus, a range of special privileges in education (often in being trained as a minority representative of the Party) and rights were granted. Status as minority is desperately sought after in certain areas of Western China. In the streets of Kunming, you may see a young Han buying a fake minority residence permit on the black market in order to lower his entrance requirements into the university. The PRC uses the desire for minority status to justify its claims that minorities are not oppressed.

The Investigations further solidified the minorities' place behind the Han. Therefore, the minority came to represent all that was "backwards" about China — feudalism, superstition, and factionalism.

CONCLUSION: THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM IN THE DECAY OF SOCIALISM

The story of the Investigations is the story of how China's minority nationalities have been re-described at both China's center and periphery and how this re-description has

changed relationships between minority peripheries and Han governing centers throughout China. Ironically, as belief in socialism decays in China, re-describing the minority nationalities as a part of a multi-national China has now become more important than ever. The central government is investing more in nationalism than in socialism. With increasing economic disparity and waves of advocacy for minorities' autonomy, enforcing the image of the minority as a part of Chinese culture and the Chinese nation is essential to the CCP's new nationalism campaigns. Therefore, more and more minority images are currently found in airports, bus stations and, of course, on television.

As the Nationality Investigations are transformed into new minority pop culture, tourism, and minority theme parks, it is imperative to examine the processes through which the minority peripheries are being re-described at the Han-dominated center. But the legacy of the Investigations — the 55 nationalities and their respective places in history that the Investigations defined — continues to define the principle relationships between the Han and the national minorities.

During the various processes of the Investigations, two modernizing projects took place: One aimed at advancing China's non-Han nationalities, the other at advancing China's social sciences toward an age of Marxist sociology which would serve the purposes of the state. Both projects proposed to consolidate an array of people who identified with various nationalisms into a single unified nation.

The Investigations officially recognized each of China's citizens as belonging to a nationality (*minzu*). Because in Maoism, however, the needs of the minority are always secondary to that of the nation and its majority, this status as minority has also justified Han and CCP rule. Thus, the exploitation of the minorities' natural resources and 62 percent of China's land area have economically served the Han center and the development of the new economy in the east. Furthermore, the Investigation's focus on uncovering the backwardness and feudal relations of minority society has seemingly added scientific merit to the PRC's enforcement of social and political changes upon minority society.

The Investigations scientifically reified the various nationality statuses as different parts of one united China. This process of identifying and naming the 55 nationalities, like the five stars of the flag and the performances of nationality dances, not only identifies the various peoples of China, but also identifies China as being made up of each of the 55 nationalities. Thus, a China without one of the nationality areas is an incomplete China. Although many Tibetans and various nationalities from Xinjiang may advocate secession from China, their dances, songs, and various other symbols of their cultures, are performed publicly on television, in restaurants, and in Chinese nationality parks (*zhonghua minzu yuan*). Each becomes integral to Chinese identity.

The current state of China's nationality discourse, nationality pop culture, and nationality policies is grounded in the Nationality Investigations of China's post-Liberation era. Accordingly, the power to describe, name, and administer the various non-Han areas and people, remains located in the Chinese Communist Party.

ENDNOTES

1. The nationalities issue, *minzu wenti*, has always been addressed as a problem to be solved by the CCP. *Minzu wenti* could also be translated as either “nationalities issue” or “nationalities question.” In this paper, the term “nationalities problem” is used because in CCP discourse, the *minzu wenti* will (in contrast to a question or an issue) eventually be solved (*jiejue*).

2. This paper discusses all three areas of the Nationality Investigations (*minzu diaocha*) that the PRC sponsored throughout the 1950s and 1960s: the Nationalities Identification (*minzu shibie*), the Languages Investigations (*yuyan diaocha*), and the Social History Investigations (*shehui lishi diaocha*). Because the complex interrelationships between these areas are not directly discussed in this paper, the three areas are referred to by their collective title, the Nationality Investigations.

3. Officially, the large star represents the common program of the Party and the four smaller stars represent the four economic classes of the new state (workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and patriotic capitalists). One interpretation is that the stars represent the five peoples of China, reflecting the extent to which five is an organizing principle in Chinese thought: the five rulers, five colors, five virtues, five classics, etc. The interpretation of the five stars as the five peoples may come from the Nationalist flag which used five colored stripes to represent China’s five peoples. In this flag, the red stripe represents China proper and the Han people (Smith 1980, p. 55; Barraclough 1978, p. 191).

4. Although Chinese feudalism (*fengjian shehui*) differed greatly from European feudalism, the Chinese translation of “feudalism” dominated both the Nationalists’ and the CCP’s descriptions of all that was “backward” (*luohuo*) about Chinese society.

5. *Guomindang* was the first political party established after the overthrow of the Emperor, founded by Sun Zhongshan.

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OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Jeffrey R. Clark, B.A. — A recent graduate from the School of International Service, American University, in Washington, D.C. and a native of New York state, Clark participated in two Study Abroad semesters with SIT. In Fall 1999, he researched the effects of micro-credit on the informal markets of Cochabamba, Bolivia. In Spring 2000, he took part in the Grassroots Development and NGO Management Program in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. While in Washington, he interned for both Counterpart International, working in the Enterprise Development Division; and the Center for International Policy, volunteering for their Demilitarization of Latin America program. In Fall 2000, his essay, titled *The Powerful African*, was published on ExpressAfrica.com. Clark currently works for *The Chronicle of Higher Education* and *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

Alvino E. Fantini, Ph.D. — Senior Faculty, Department of Language Teacher Education, SIT and Editor of the *SIT Occasional Papers Series*. Internationally recognized for his work in both language education and the intercultural field, Fantini is a former president of the prestigious Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR International), and recipient of its highest award. He was instrumental in the development of the Sandanona Estate of The U.S. Experiment in International Living into the present School for International Training. Fantini has published important works in language acquisition, bilingualism, foreign languages, and language and culture teaching, and recently served on the National Committee to establish foreign language standards for U.S. public education. He currently serves as an international consultant and trainer.

Mark Hoffman, B.A. — Mark graduated from Vassar College in June 2001 with honors in Political Science and recipient of an award for his senior thesis. He spent the spring semester of his junior year in Ireland and Northern Ireland as a participant in SIT's Peace and Conflict Studies program. Mark continued research on the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition while an intern at the Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity in Northern Ireland where he also engaged in various conflict research and management projects. He is currently a Vassar Maguire Fellow in the Political Theory MA module at the Queen's University of Belfast. He plans to pursue a career in teaching while participating in movements for social justice and accommodation in multicultural contexts both in the U.S. and abroad.

Rebecca Hovey, Ph.D. — Dean and Director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies. With an interdisciplinary background in philosophy, education, and Latin American Studies, Hovey taught at Cornell University, Dartmouth College, and Hobart & William Smith Colleges, and presented her research on Latin American at a number of professional conferences. Prior to her academic career, she worked in the fields of refugee resettlement, literacy education, and community economic development in California, where she offered Freirean-based community trainings in multicultural awareness and language instruction. Hovey is a member of the Latin American Studies Association and NAFSA: Association of International Educators.

Joseph K. Langerfeld, B.A. — A native of Tampa, Florida, Joseph graduated in 2001 from Middlebury College with a B.A. in geography. Joseph plans to pursue a master degree in geography in 2002. He is deeply interested in India, Indonesia, Tibet, and Native America. Joseph studied and lived in Germany during 1993, undertook an internship on water and development issues in New Mexico in 1999, and participated in a three-month Tibetan cultural studies program in Asia last Spring. He is currently employed by a local social service organization and looks forward to a career in human rights, the peace process, teaching, or international education.

Lukas Loncko, B.A. — Currently a graduate Student at the University of Nevada, Reno, Loncko is pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Political Science. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in International Affairs from the University of Nevada, Reno. Loncko serves as assistant to the director of the International Affairs Program and as advisor to the International Affairs Club. Loncko participated in SIT's International Studies Program in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1999. A native of Slovakia and a speaker of Czech, French, German, and English, his research interests include topics in international political economy and Central and Eastern European studies.

Freeman T. Rogers — A student in SIT's Study Abroad, Rogers participated in the Ecuador Comparative Ecology program. Rogers is from Travelers Rest, South Carolina. In May, he will complete a B.A. in English at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. After graduation, Freeman plans to teach English in Japan on the Japan Exchange and Tutoring (JET) program.

John G. Sommer, M.A. — Former Dean, Academic Studies Abroad, SIT. Before serving as dean from 1981–2000, Sommer was head of policy and planning for the U.S. Peace Corps, assistant to the administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and executive director for USAID's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Sommer

also served as a fellow at the Overseas Development Council in Washington; an official of the Ford Foundation and its assistant representative in New Delhi, India; and a volunteer and team leader with International Voluntary Services in Vietnam; as well as consultant to various government agencies and other institutions. The author of a major study on humanitarian aid in Somalia, Sommer has published numerous books, articles, and professional papers on international education and development.

Shannon Sonenstein — A senior at the College of Wooster and a native of Connecticut, Sonenstein spent the fall semester of 1999 in Samoa. Sonenstein is interested in writing and theater and she is currently finishing up her senior independent study project at Wooster — a one-woman show that she plans to perform based on interviews conducted on the spectrum of views concerning homosexuality. Sonenstein's other interests include volunteer work at a domestic violence shelter and Habitat for Humanity. Some of her writings have appeared in the College of Wooster's literary magazine, *The Goliard*. After graduating from Wooster with a Bachelor of Arts in English, Sonenstein plans to travel and pursue a career in writing and theater.

Blake Stone-Banks, B.A. — A student of anthropology and a graduate of Macalester College in May 2001, Stone-Banks conducted fieldwork in the Dominican Republic and Bolivia before traveling to Yunnan Province, China, with SIT in Spring 2000. In China, he interviewed ethnologists about the history of Chinese ethnology including the Nationality Investigations. Following his semester at SIT, he spent the summer teaching at an English center in Shanghai. Upon graduation, Stone-Banks received the Spradley Award for outstanding research in anthropology. Stone-Banks is currently an English teacher in New York City.

Louise Elaine Vaz, B.S. — Vaz graduated from Duke University in May 2001 with a degree in Infectious Disease. A speaker of Portuguese and Spanish, she was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and has lived in New York, Louisiana, and North Carolina. She taught a class at Duke on infectious disease and spends her free time tutoring at a soup kitchen for children, a program she co-founded in 1999. Vaz has conducted biomedical research in infectious diseases at Duke, Brazil, and UCSF. Her academic interests include the interplay of social inequality and infectious disease in developing countries. As a recipient of the Hart Fellowship, she will spend a year in Mozambique to establish HIV/AIDS intervention/prevention programs for a national NGO and to document the impact of war on health. Upon return, she plans to enter medical school in Fall 2003.

ABOUT WORLD LEARNING

OUR VISION AND MISSION

From the beginning, our vision has been one of world peace. Our mission is to help build it. Guided by our values and animated by our sense of purpose, we attempt to demonstrate that people of good will and commitment to the fundamental dignity of human life can be a powerful light in a world too often darkened by humankind's failure to recognize its own humanity. The people we serve are forward looking, seeing the world not only as it is, but as it could be: they have chosen to be agents of change. And like those who have worked to develop the organization over the past seven decades, their ideas take no account of, nor are they limited by political borders or geographical boundaries. Rather, ours is a world bound only by a common humanity.

World Learning is the only international organization with both academic and project capabilities dedicated to promoting intercultural understanding, social justice, and world peace. Since its founding in 1932 as The Experiment in International Living, World Learning's values have become ever more relevant, while its programs have grown in scope and intensity. Through distinctive methods based on experiential approaches to education and training and the integration of theory and practice, World Learning's diverse programs are designed to provide life-changing experiences that build knowledge, develop leaders, contribute to global development, and effect change.

SCHOOL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING (SIT)

Brattleboro, Vermont

Established in 1964, SIT provides education and training programs that enable participants to develop the leadership capabilities and cross-cultural competencies required to advance international understanding, work effectively in multicultural environments, and achieve sustainable development at the community level and on a national or global scale. As the accredited college of World Learning, SIT is heir to nearly 70 years of pioneering intercultural educational programs, including providing the early U.S. Peace Corps training. Today, in addition to its premier study abroad programs, SIT offers master's degrees in foreign and second language teaching, international education, intercultural relations, sustainable development, organizational management, and international and intercultural

service; extension courses; educational system reform initiatives; and management development and conflict transformation training.

- **SIT EXTENSION**

Offering continuing education and professional growth opportunities through innovative, high-quality courses taught by SIT faculty, online or on the SIT campus.

- **CENTER FOR TEACHER EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RESEARCH**

Redefining teaching and learning in schools, providing reflective professional development, and increasing access to second and foreign language development.

- **CENTER FOR SOCIAL POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Strengthening the management capability of individuals in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), governments, and multilateral organizations.

PROJECTS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING (PIDT)

Washington, D.C.

Through its field division, World Learning administers social and economic projects in international development and training worldwide under U.S. government and international contracts and grants. A prominent private voluntary organization (PVO), World Learning specializes in developing the skills and potential of individuals and institutions. World Learning's Projects in International Development and Training are active in every region of the world, with programs in five broad sectors: Education, Training and Exchange, Institutional Capacity Building, Democracy and Governance, and Societies in Transition.

THE EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING (EIL)

Brattleboro, Vermont

The U.S. Experiment continues its nearly 70-year tradition of fostering international understanding through intercultural exchange. During challenging three- to five-week summer programs, motivated high school students immerse themselves in the culture and language of another country by living as a member of one of its families. Guided by experienced group leaders, students engage in language training, community service, peace studies, and ecological projects in one of over 20 countries around the world. In addition, local Vermont high school teachers engage in summer programs in Japan and China under a grant from the Freeman Foundation.

WORLD LEARNING BUSINESS SOLUTIONS

Chesterfield, New Hampshire

World Learning provides integrated solutions to the enterprise-level language and cultural training needs of global organizations. Clients receive customized competency-based training in many languages at World Learning's sites in Vermont, New Hampshire, and California, or at clients' sites anywhere in the world. Programs are delivered in individual or group classes and through guided self-instruction. World Learning's portfolio includes executive communication coaching and orientation programs to assist those preparing for international negotiations, meetings, or assignments.

WORLD LEARNING AND SIT TODAY

The School for International Training today has grown into an international center of knowledge with a focus on the integration of theory and practice. Three characteristics are central: First, as the academic center of World Learning, the School has built on an experiential educational tradition that by definition has at its core the learning process. That is, how people learn, the interaction between student and teacher, and the wealth of experience that each learner has, all help create a learning environment where knowledge, along with skills, awareness, and positive attitudes are fostered.

A second characteristic of SIT programs is the importance placed on the integration of language and culture. Whether in the classroom or in the field, with internships and practica, students have numerous opportunities to practice firsthand what they learn about language and culture. As multicultural and multilingual environments are increasingly common in the U.S. and abroad, the ability to function effectively and appropriately in these settings is even more central to teaching, international education, managing organizations, and participating fully in diverse communities.

A third element of SIT programs is that theory and practice are brought together both in the classroom and in the field. That is, rather than an academic center that offers only theory, and a separate center for practice, SIT is an integral part of World Learning, the only international organization with both academic and project capabilities dedicated to promoting international understanding, social justice, and world peace. For example, one of the projects of World Learning's field division, Projects in International Development and Training, is a bilingual education program for Mayan groups in Guatemala. Issues of curriculum development, models and approaches for teacher training and learning, and implementation strategies are all integral aspects of the project as it is designed, implemented, and assessed in the field. This approach holds as well for SIT's study abroad programs, where rigorous independent studies in the field are integrated with classroom work done by students on-site.

World Learning, then, may best be defined as a center of knowledge where theory and practice intersect. The convergence of theory and practice may be seen in our faculty,

students, academic programs, and international development projects. It is embodied in our student internships and practicum projects, fieldwork, and study abroad projects that serve to weave learning and experience into one fabric.

Overall, we are a mission-driven institution focused on international and intercultural programs and activities that have a significant impact on our students and practitioners, as well as the people and organizations they serve. We believe that the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and awareness that flow from these kinds of intercultural experiences are critical to developing intercultural competence — a necessary ingredient for the twenty-first century, leading to achieving the mission of World Learning and SIT: namely, the development of leaders in their chosen field who can promote intercultural understanding, as well as foster world peace, social justice, and sustainable communities.

OUR WORLDWIDE CONNECTION: THE FEDERATION OF THE EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING

ORIGINS AND HISTORY

World Learning forms one of more than twenty autonomous national organizations that participate in the Federation EIL. Collectively, they form the worldwide network of The Experiment in International Living.

The Experiment in International Living, founded in 1932, was one of the first organizations of its kind to engage individuals in intercultural living and learning. Originating in the United States, The Experiment introduced the homestay concept to the world by carefully preparing and placing Experimenters in the homes of host families to learn other languages and cultures firsthand. Over the years, the organization has expanded into many countries around the globe. In 1954, Experiment national offices worldwide joined forces to establish the Federation EIL (FEIL), a Swiss-registered association, to coordinate their network of educational exchange programs. World Learning is one of more than 20 autonomous national organizations that comprise the Federation of The Experiment in International Living (FEIL). Collectively, they form the worldwide network of The Experiment in International Living.

By coming together as Federation EIL, these organizations have developed — and continue to maintain — high standards of quality in the programs they conduct, and have achieved many benefits, such as greater recognition, access to partners, and the power of pooled resources for information, training, and development.

FEIL'S MISSION

The Federation EIL mission statement reads as follows:

Whereas members aim to bring together people of different cultures, ages, and backgrounds for distinctive intercultural educational opportunities that encourage a more diverse participation; and whereas members seek to reduce the likelihood of intercultural conflicts; and whereas members commit to maintain

and assure the highest principles and standards in all their activities; and whereas members seek to respond to a constantly changing world.

The mission of Federation EIL is to facilitate its member organizations in the lifelong involvement of individuals in intercultural learning experiences. This process helps develop understanding of and respect for people throughout the world.

THE FEDERATION LOGO

The Federation EIL and many of its members have long utilized the following logo (the FEIL added the words around the symbol):



The Experiment logo is described as a figure of interlaced loops. It is thought to be one of the oldest symbols in the world, decorating monuments at least 5,000 years old in India, Iraq, and Iran. It appeared in Egypt in the first decade of the Christian era, and from the fourth to the tenth centuries in Ireland, France, Scandinavia, and northern Italy. By the fourteenth century, it was found carved in marble by the Turks.

In different ages, this logo is believed to have symbolized the unbroken flow of the elements, life, family, generations, and cultures. The Experiment in International Living adopted it as its logo in 1951 to represent the unity of humankind — moving, meeting, passing, and returning again to the central intersections where people and cultures share deep human values interlaced through a common humanity and are continually confronted by the need to understand one another. The double nature of the logo reflects a spirit of cooperation.

AFFILIATIONS

Governed by a General Assembly that convenes annually, Federation EIL and all of its member organizations are nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational. Each member has met the standards for acceptance into the Federation and operates with autonomy. Federation EIL holds consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as a Category II nongovernmental organization, and also with The Council of Europe. FEIL is recognized by the United Nations Secretary General as a Peace Messenger organization. FEIL was also in partnership with UNESCO on the International Year for the Culture of Peace 2000. Federation EIL and its member organizations collaborate with a broad range of partners including schools, universities, government agencies, corporations, and fellow nongovernmental organizations — on a diverse array of projects.

World Learning's participation as a member of the Federation EIL provides it not only with worldwide outreach, but it also reflects a basic tenet — that intercultural learning is a collaborative experience. It requires working together across cultures. It allows all participants to explore their differences and build on their commonalities. Most importantly, it ensures that when going abroad, participants enter into the local culture in the Greek way, or the Mexican way, or the Kenyan way, rather than doing “the American thing” in someone else's backyard.

A list of member organizations making up the worldwide network of The Experiment in International Living is available by contacting federation@experiment.org. Updates are also posted on the Federation EIL Website <http://www.experiment.org>.

SIT's STUDY ABROAD ACTIVITIES

Over the years, over 20,000 students have benefited from the transformational learning experiences offered by SIT Study Abroad (See Figure 1). Students who have participated in Study Abroad have been from hundreds of colleges and universities throughout the United States. Alumni of SIT's 57 worldwide programs return to their home campuses equipped with academic insight, strong field research skills, essential intercultural competencies, and a comprehensive understanding of critical global issues in a regional context.

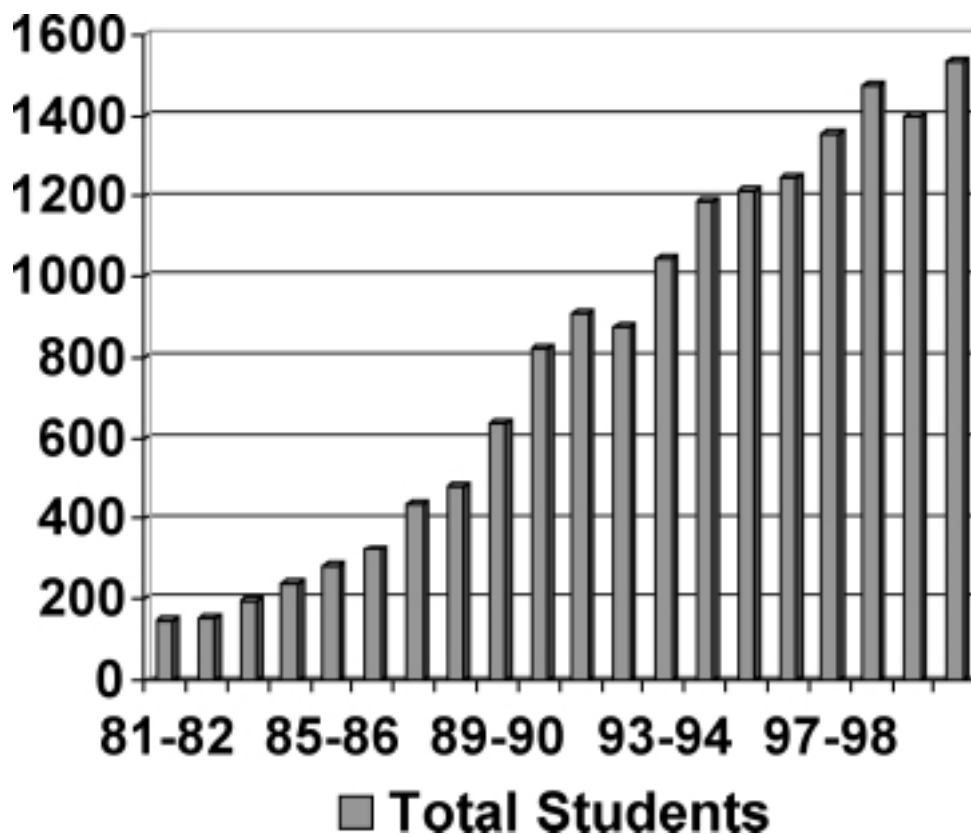


Figure 1. Student Enrollments from 1981-1998

Field-based learning is the cornerstone of SIT Study Abroad. In every program, students integrate academic study with field experience, creating synergies that not only enrich their time abroad — but also provide the framework for lifelong learning.

As an international center of knowledge with programs and academic partners worldwide, SIT is uniquely endowed to provide comprehensive, multidisciplinary resources tailored to maximize the learning experience in every program. Academic directors, language instructors, and resource people from each host country provide SIT students with the highest quality instruction and training, thanks in part to SIT's long-established relationships with field organizations and academic institutions around the globe (See Figure 2). Each small group of students works under the supervision of an academic director whose extensive background in education, administration, and group leadership, as well as in-country experience, opens doors to local resources, facilities, and experts that would be unavailable under other circumstances.

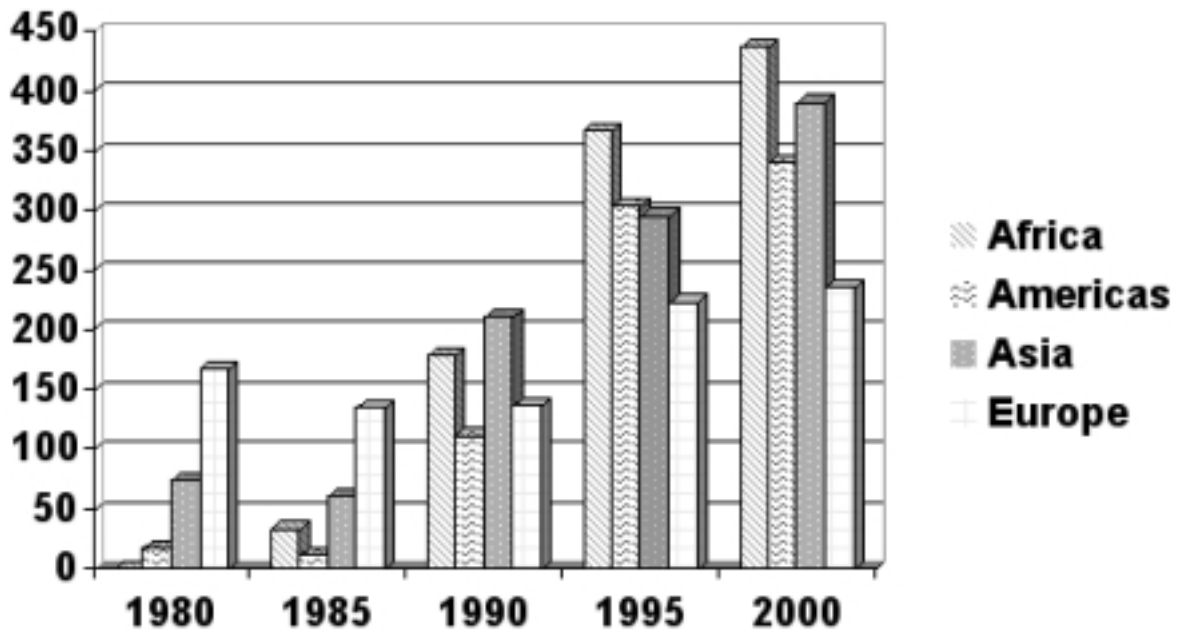


Figure 2. Regions Where SIT Abroad Programs Are Conducted, 1980-2000.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON STUDY ABROAD

GENERAL WORKS

Adelman, M.B. 1988. "Cross-cultural Adjustment: A Theoretical Perspective on Social Support" in *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 12 (183-204). This article examines issues of social support for intercultural sojourners. The author discusses culture shock and social support systems, making a distinction between close and weak social ties. The author provides a theoretical framework for support for use with study abroad participants.

———. 1988. *The Impact of an International Education on College Acceptance and Career Development*. American Institute for Foreign Study. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 298 056. This study investigates the impact of study abroad on college students in the American Institute for Foreign Study's overseas program between 1983-1988. A survey examines skills developed by students, citing three primary gains: maturity, proficiency in a foreign language, and knowledge of a second culture. Comments on the value of study abroad from the perspective of educational professionals and prior participants are included.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. (Revised edition). New York, New York: Verso.

Anderson, C.J. 1988. *International Studies for Undergraduates, 1987: Operations and Opinion*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 301 122. Based on a comprehensive survey conducted by the Higher Education Panel of the American Council on Education in 1987-1988, this report documents activities in undergraduate international studies at nearly 400 schools. Data are reported on a number of practices that included foreign language requirements, study abroad programs, international majors and minors, and international library resources, among others.

Archangeli, M. 1999. "Study Abroad and Experiential Learning in Salzburg, Austria" in *Foreign Language Annals*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 115-124. This article describes an experiential task used with American college students studying in Austria, requiring students to conduct interviews with native speakers. The article discusses the reluctance and concerns of students, the benefits of the assignment, and differences between the early and later interviews.

- Bates, J.T. 1997. *The Effects of Study Abroad on Undergraduates in an Honors International Program*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Carolina. This study compares differences in demographics, intellectual experiences, personal development, and the development of global mindedness between students who participated in a semester abroad and others who did not. Pre- and post-test measures as well as narratives were utilized for data collection. Findings indicate that study abroad enhanced intellectual growth, personal development, and global mindedness.
- Boulton, M.R. 1996. *China Bound: A Case Study of Orientation for Study Abroad in the People's Republic of China*. Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College. With the expansion of study abroad opportunities in non-Western countries, sponsoring institutions must consider how to effectively prepare students for the challenges of living in cultures whose living conditions and views of the world are dramatically different from their own. The study investigates the orientation process from both the sponsor and student perspectives, utilizing interviews, documents relating to the orientation components, participant observation of the on-site orientation and initial adjustment period, and a post-sojourn questionnaire.
- Brecht, R.D. et al. 1991. *On Evaluating Language Proficiency Gain in Study Abroad Environments: An Empirical Study of American Students of Russian*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 350 855.
- Brecht, R.D. et al. 1993. *Predictors of Foreign Language Gain During Study Abroad*. Washington, D.C.: Johns Hopkins University. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED 360 828. This study of 658 U.S. students of Russian, was conducted from 1984-1990 by the American Council of Teachers of Russian and the National Foreign Language Center, examining a number of variables: age, gender, citizenship, country of birth, level of education, major, and previous language and cultural experience. Results identified some specific characteristics such as gender and language experience that affected language acquisition abroad.
- Burn, B.B. et al. 1992. *Program Review of Study Abroad*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED 355 893. This study evaluated study abroad programs conducted by nine campuses of the Florida State University System. It presents an assessment and description of each program, citing strengths and weaknesses. Several recommendations are provided, including: improved coordination with community colleges, increasing participation, enhanced administration and more effective management, systematic evaluation, professional development for study abroad administrators, and encouraging students to consider programs at institutions other than their own.
- Burn, B.B. 1990. *The Contribution of International Educational Exchange to the International Education of Americans: Projections for the Year 2000*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 336 317.

Carlson, J.S. & Widaman, K.F. 1988. "The Effects of Study Abroad during College on Attitudes toward Other Cultures" in *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 12, pp. 1-18. In addition to pre- and post-tests, this study added a control group for better comparisons. The study involved 304 students who spent their junior year studying in Europe and 519 students who spent their junior year at their home institution. Findings reveal that study abroad participants showed higher levels of international concern and awareness; higher levels of cross-cultural interest; and more positive, although more critical attitudes, toward their own country.

Carlson, J.S. et al. 1991. *Study Abroad: The Experience of American Undergraduates in Western Europe and the United States*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 340 322. This study compares students who chose study abroad with those who did not, and the influence of the experience on later career choices. Findings reveal predictable differences between the two groups relative to cultural and language interests, in addition to academic gains and social and personal development. The study also examines the long-term impact of study abroad on participants after completing undergraduate studies 5-20 years ago.

Cash, R.W. 1993. *Assessment of Study Abroad Programs Using Surveys of Student Participants*. Paper presented at the Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research, Chicago, Illinois, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED 360 925. This article examines the impact of study abroad programs conducted by St. Mary's College between 1982 and 1992. Findings indicate the greatest amount of participant growth in their appreciation of other cultures, followed by growth in independence, maturity, and greater self-awareness.

Citron, J.L. 1996. *The Cross-cultural Re-entry Experiences of Short-term Study Abroad Students from the U.S.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. This study looks at re-entry experiences of students who had studied in Spain for a fourteen-week Spanish language and culture program in an effort to understand the types of experiences students faced upon their return, and whether the program served as problems or resources for the participants. It also looks at correlations between successful integration into Spanish culture and re-entry experiences. Findings indicate that various aspects of the students' lives are influenced by their re-entry experience, including the physical, interpersonal, cultural, and personal.

Comp, D.J. 2000. *Undergraduate sojourner change as a result of a study abroad experience*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Council on International Educational Exchange. (1990). *A National Mandate for Education Abroad: Getting on with the Task*, Report of the National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 331 340). This is a report of a task force established in 1989 with representatives from the National Association for Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) and the Institute of International Education (IIE). The

report focuses primarily on the internationalization of the undergraduate experience and resulted in five major recommendations: (1) by the year 2000, 10% of U.S. college students should study abroad; (2) greater diversity in participating students, locations, and program types; (3) integrate study abroad into regular degree programs in many different fields; (4) address factors that inhibit expansion of study abroad; (5) increase funding from private and public sources. The report includes a list of references and participating individuals and organizations.

Council on International Exchange. 1993. *Educational Exchange and Global Competence*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 368 275.

DeKeyser, R. 1991. "The Semester Overseas: What Difference Does It Make?" in *ADFL Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 42-48. This article describes research aimed at assessing the language development of students participating in study abroad and how learners deal with gaps in their knowledge. Results indicate that individual factors have much more influence over language acquisition and communication strategies than does the study abroad experience or lack thereof. The author concludes that for maximum benefit, students need to be able to mask their problems instead of drawing attention to them, thus allowing for more informal interaction with native speakers.

Drews, D. & Meyer, L.L. 1996. "Effects of Study Abroad on Conceptualizations of National Groups" in *College Student Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 452-462. This study seeks to determine how study abroad influences the conceptualizations of national groups. The researchers find that study abroad participants are more likely than those who do not study abroad to conceive of other national groups in terms associated with the characters of individuals, as opposed to food, historical events, geographical characteristics, and other non-personal factors. The authors conclude that a significant impact of study abroad is a more "personalized" view of other cultures.

Fantini, Alvino E. et al. 1984. *Cross-Cultural Orientation: A Guide for Leaders and Educators*. The Experiment Press, Brattleboro, VT. This work is a guide for those responsible for conducting cross-cultural orientation for students planning to live, work, or study abroad. It is divided into two sections, focusing on content and process and addresses orientation as an ongoing process -- from pre-departure, through to the sojourn and re-entry.

Fantini, Alvino E. et al. 1984. *Getting the Whole Picture: A Student's Field Guide to Language Acquisition and Culture Exploration*. The Experiment Press, Brattleboro, VT. This work is a student companion piece to the Cross-Cultural Orientation Guide cited above. It provides a variety of activities for students during the pre-departure, sojourn, and re-entry phases that are designed to maximize their language development and cross-cultural learning.

Felker, W. & Fuller, C. 1996. *Foreign Language/Area Studies Enhancement Project*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 415 676.

- Flash, S. 1999. *Study Abroad Program Participation Effects on Academic Progress*. Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo. This study examines the effects of study abroad participation on student progress toward degree completion. Conclusions are based on data obtained from university records that compare the number of semesters to degree completion for study abroad participants versus non-participants, surveys of past participants, and structured interviews. Results suggest that there are no significant delays in degree completion by study abroad participants and no significant concern on the part of faculty or students about the quality of academic coursework completed abroad.
- Freed, B.F., Ed. 1995. *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Furnham, A. 1993. "Communicating in Foreign Lands: The Cause, Consequences and Cures of Culture Shock" in *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 91-109. In this paper, the author argues that a person's ability to communicate in another culture can be regarded as a social skill that can be analyzed, taught, learned, practiced, and improved. Strategies for training sojourners in cross-cultural communication skills are presented and discussed; these include information-giving, cultural sensitization, isomorphic attributions, learning by doing, and social skills training.
- Gamon, C. 1989. *Study, Work and Travel Abroad: A Bibliography*. Published by NAFSA, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 331 409. This bibliography was produced by the Section on U.S. Students Abroad (SECUSSA) of the National Association for Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA). The first section lists organizations and publishers providing information on study abroad; the second section cites resource materials for study abroad advisers; and the third section lists reference materials recommended for study abroad libraries.
- Ginsberg, R.B. et al. 1992. *Listening Comprehension Before and After Study Abroad*, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 358 718. This study is one in a series using data from the American Council of Teachers of Russian Language on students who participated in their Russian language programs over numerous years. This study focuses on listening comprehension before and after study abroad in an attempt to find out the types of listening comprehension training used in college Russian language classes, the materials used, what strategies are useful, how study abroad affects reading and speaking, and other factors related to listening comprehension abilities.
- Goodwin, C.D. & Nacht, M. 1988. *Abroad and Beyond: Patterns in American Overseas Education*. New York: Institute of International Education. This study explores reasons for the rapid growth of U.S. college student study abroad in the 1980s, features case studies of effective programs, and suggests ideas for planning and evaluating study abroad programs.
- Hansel, B. 1993. *The Exchange Student Survival Kit*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

- Herman, N.B. 1996. *The Impact of Study Abroad Experiences on the Psychosocial Development of College Students*. Doctoral Dissertation, Ohio University. An exploration of the impact of study abroad on the psychosocial development of participants, measuring their developmental levels before and after program participation, using the Student Development Task and Lifestyles Inventory (SDTLI). Findings indicate no difference in psychosocial development by gender or by cultural immersion, and no significant difference between pre- and post-test assessments. The author also concludes that the selected instrument may not have been able to adequately assess the impact of the study abroad program.
- Hernández, L.A.U. 1996. *United States College Students Learning Spanish as a Second Language in a Language and Culture Immersion Program Abroad: An Ethnographic Approach*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. This qualitative study looks at three college students who learned Spanish in a language and culture immersion program in Venezuela. Specific questions investigated include: what role cultural aspects play in language acquisition during immersion, how the students and their world views change during the program, how immersion helps students learn a second language, and how the findings might influence second language pedagogy.
- Hess, J.D. 1997. *Studying Abroad/Learning Abroad*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press. A guide to aid students to learn about another culture while living and studying abroad. An introductory chapter discusses the general process of learning about and adapting to a new culture and communicating across cultural lines. Subsequent chapters address these aspects of culture learning in greater detail: attitudes and character traits that promote culture learning; methods in culture learning; and the relationships between culture learning, values, and ethical choices. A final chapter presents 15 techniques for approaching various aspects of culture.
- Hoffman-Hicks, S.D. 1999. *The Longitudinal Development of French Foreign Language Pragmatic Competence: Evidence from Study Abroad Participants*. Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University. A longitudinal investigation into the acquisition of pragmatic competence, or the ability to understand and produce utterances according to the sociolinguistic rules of appropriate use in a given culture. The learners in the present study are university students in a study abroad program in France. The objective is to determine whether and to what extent these learners demonstrate approximation to native speaker norms over time and also whether extended exposure to the target environment facilitates the acquisition of pragmatic competence.
- Hutchins, M.M. 1996. *International Education Study Tours Abroad: Students' Professional Growth and Personal Development in Relation to International, Global, and Intercultural Perspectives*. Doctoral Dissertation, Ohio State University. This qualitative study examines the impact of international education study tours on six graduate students, focusing on how the program impacts the international/global perspectives of the participants. Findings indicate that the experience produced changes in their personal and professional growth, as well as in their international perspective.

- Institute for International Education. 1996. *Study Abroad: You Can Get There from Here: A Guide for Women and Men*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 401 777.
- Institute for International Education. 1997. *Towards Transnational Competence. Rethinking International Education: A U.S.-Japan Case Study*. IIE Research Report, Number 28. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 409 821. This report, based upon studies carried out from 1994-96 by a task force of international educators, focuses on efforts to identify a language and strategy for improving U.S.-Japan international education.
- Jones, M.E. & Bond, M.L. 2000. "Personal Adjustment, Language Acquisition, and Culture Learning in Short-term Cultural Immersion" in *International Review*, Vol. 10, 33-49. This study examines a short-term immersion program (2-10 weeks) in Mexico and its contributions to cultural learning, focusing on student reports of personal adjustment, language acquisition, and cultural learning. A second aspect of the study examines how personal characteristics such as age, income, education, and previous cross-cultural experience influenced adjustment and learning.
- Kepets, D. 1995. *Back in the USA: Reflecting on Your Study Abroad Experience and Putting It to Work*. Washington, D.C.: NAFSA Association of International Educators.
- King, L.J. & Young, J.A. 1994. "Study Abroad: Education for the 21st Century" in *Unterrichtspraxis*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 77-87. This article describes two surveys conducted at Oregon State University to study attitudes of students toward study abroad. The first survey aimed at understanding how students who had not participated in study abroad felt about it, and the second to determine the attitudes of students who had previously studied abroad. Findings were used by language faculty and study abroad administrators to improve programming and language instruction.
- Lamet, M. (Ed.). 2000. *Abroad by Design*. Washington, D.C: NAFSA Association of International Educators. This book provides study abroad administrators with sample program documents, including model programs, budgets, health guidelines, and other documents used by various colleges and universities involved in study abroad activities.
- Laubscher, M.R. 1994. *Encounters with Difference: Student Perceptions of the Role of Out-of-class Experiences in Education Abroad*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. A case study based on interviews with students completing a semester or year-long study abroad program in 1990 through Penn State, in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. The study investigates which activities positively impacted cross-cultural learning. Three categories emerged that included participant observation (homestay, student clubs, etc.), personal interaction (dorm conversations, interviews, etc.), and travel. A number of recommendations are presented to help program administrators integrate out-of-class experiences with overall learning objectives.
- Martin, J.N. & Rohrlich, B. 1991. "The Relationship between Study Abroad Student Expectations and Selected Student Characteristics" in *Journal of College Student*

Development, Vol. 32, No. 1, 36-49. Many factors influence why some students have a more successful study abroad experience than others. This study examines student expectations prior to their program and the relationship between expectations and various student characteristics. Findings indicate that students were most concerned about housing, sufficient money, extra travel, and coursework, with little concern reported on homesickness and climate. Other significant factors related to length of previous experience abroad, which influenced concern about transportation and language.

Martin, J.N., Bradford, L. & Rohrlich, B. "Comparing Predeparture Expectations and Post-sojourn Reports: A Longitudinal Study of U. S. Students Abroad" in *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 87-110. A study of 248 students and their expectations before and after participating in a study abroad program at four European locations. Findings indicate that fulfillment or non-fulfillment of expectations is related to the location of study and gender, but not to prior cross-cultural experience. There is also a significant relationship between the non-fulfillment of expectations and the overall evaluation of the experience.

Martin, J.N. 1989. "Predeparture Orientation: Preparing College Sojourners for Intercultural Interaction" in *Communication Education*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 249-258. This article describes a course designed to prepare students for the study abroad experience with three objectives in mind: (1) to give the student a conceptual framework for understanding cross-cultural interactions, (2) to assist the student in developing adjustment strategies, and (3) to provide the student with specific information about the host country. The article records the specific topics included in each unit, the assignments, the activities, and text materials used.

Martin, W.J. 1988. *South American Field Experience: An Initiative in International Education. The Implementation Journal for the South American Field Experience*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 304 172. A description of Williamsport Area Community Colleges' South American Field Experience program, a travel/study program for faculty and staff designed to provide a variety of learning experiences through a three-week trip to Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.

McCabe, L.T. 1994. "The Development of a Global Perspective during Participation in Semester at Sea: A Comparative Global Education Program" in *Educational Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 275-286. This study examines changes in students' global perspectives after participating in a Semester at Sea program through the University of Pittsburgh. Findings indicate that pre-program experiences shape students' perceptions, that some of the formal education onboard was of influence, that informal ship experiences and the sense of community onboard helped students, and that port experiences were the most influential.

Miller, E. 1993. *Culture Shock: A Student's Perspective of Study Abroad and the Importance of Promoting Study Abroad Programs*. Paper presented at the Annual Intercultural and

International Communication Conference, Miami, FL. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED 358 492. This paper reports on one student's study abroad experience to Mexico. The author describes three phases: (1) the pre-departure phase, (2) the in-country experience, and (3) re-entry. The paper describes how the student progressed through various phases of study abroad and the techniques and strategies utilized, and concludes with the author's perception of the benefits and importance of a study abroad experience in today's global world.

Milleret, M. 1990. "Evaluation and the Summer Language Program Abroad: A Review Essay" in *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 74, No. iv, 483-488. A review of various aspects of summer study abroad programs citing both strengths and weaknesses. The article discusses ways in which such programs can be evaluated, providing information on assessing language readiness, oral performance, gains in cultural perception, and the overall effectiveness of a program.

Milleret, M. 1991. "Assessing the Gain in Oral Proficiency from Summer Foreign Study" in *ADFL Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 39-43.

Mills, T.J. & Campbell, J.B. 1994. *Educational Use of Foreign Students and Americans Returned from Study Abroad: A Project to Improve Global Education*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 416 807. This report documents activities and accomplishments of a three-year program at the University of Oregon to utilize the services of students returning from study abroad as a resource to the campus, community, and local K-12 classrooms. The success of the program was evaluated by qualitative and quantitative measures using survey instruments and interviews.

Nolan, R.W. 1990. "Culture Shock and Cross-cultural Adaptation or I Was OK until I Got Here" in *Practicing Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 2-20. A discussion of cultural transitions that occur when individuals enter new cultures. Two main components of culture shock are identified, including frustration and irritation arising from the individual's inability to understand and control a new situation, and a feeling of loss. Models and diagrams of the culture shock cycle are presented.

Opper, S., Teichler, U. & Carlson, J. 1990. *Impacts of Study Abroad Programmes on Students and Graduates*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. A report on the Study Abroad Evaluation Project (SAEP) coordinated by the European Institute of Education and Social Policy. This project examined study abroad programs in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Sweden, and the United States, based primarily on written surveys of students during the 1984-85 academic year. Outcomes discussed in the report include academic, language, cultural, employment, and career impact.

Parr, P. 1988. *Second Language Acquisition and Study Abroad: The Immersion Experience*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California. A quantitative study of how out-of-classroom activities influence a student's second language acquisition based on

data collected by surveys distributed to students in four study abroad programs in Spain during 1986-1987.

- Rahilly, L.J. 1992. *A Case for Overseas Study and Internships*. Paper presented at the Annual Eastern Michigan University Conference on Languages and Communication for World Business and the Professions, Ypsilanti, MI. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 347 845. A discussion of the need for college students to increase their language and literature skills as well as their global awareness through study abroad experiences. The author discusses the ideal overseas program, to include adequate preparatory work, housing, a work experience, program monitoring, and sufficient follow-up after a student's return to the U.S.
- Rivers, W.P. 1998. "Is Being There Enough? The Effects of Homestay Placements on Language Gain during Study Abroad" in *Foreign Language Annals*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 492-500. This study tests the assumption that a homestay immersion was the most important factor in language study abroad programs. Data were collected and compared on both students who lived in dormitories and students who lived in homestays. The results indicated that, contrary to common assumptions, homestay participants are slightly less likely to gain in speaking proficiency and listening, but more likely to gain in reading.
- Steen, S.J., Ed. 2000. *Academic Year Abroad 2000/2001: The Most Complete Guide to Planning Academic Year Study Abroad*. New York: Institute for International Education. This guide describes 2,617 academic study abroad opportunities, arranging individual program descriptions alphabetically by geographic region and country. In addition to specific country and city listings, there is a "worldwide" section for programs active in more than one world region. Programs are indexed by sponsoring institution, consortia, field of study, special options, and cost ranges.
- Stimpfl, J.R. & Engberg, D.E. 1997. *Comparing Apples to Apples: An Integrated Approach to Study Abroad Program Assessment*. This article presents a model for effective comparison of study abroad programs with a two-fold purpose: The first is to allow administrators to better understand how appropriate a particular program is for its intended audience, and the second is to help determine the suitability of a particular student for a certain program. The authors provide four categories for evaluating programs: level of immersion, level of synthesis built into the program, level of difference between the host culture and the culture of the participant, and level of personal development.
- Stimpfl, J.R. & Engberg, D. 1997. "What to Know before You Go: Creating a Basis of Comparison for Research on Study Abroad Programs" in *International Education Forum*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 7-21. A review of study abroad research that addresses impact or change and a discussion of problems associated with much of the research done in the field of study abroad. Suggestions are given for future research possibilities.

- Talbott, I.D. 1990. "Obstacles to Host Country Adjustment in an International Travel/Study Program" in *International Education*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 32-38 An assessment of obstacles to host country adjustment for participants of an international travel/study program operated from 1986-1989. Findings indicate that of the various factors students were asked to evaluate, only five seemed to present difficulties for more than half the participants. These included personal conveniences such as toilets and showers, communications, shopping, measurements, and restaurants.
- Taylor, N. 1991. *The Travel Journal: An Assessment Tool for Overseas Study*. New York: Council on International Education Exchange (CIEE).
- Teichler, U., & Steube, W. 1991. "The Logics of Study Abroad Programmes and Their Impacts" in *Higher Education*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 325-349. A comparative study of 82 different models or types of study abroad programs and their effects.
- Thomas, S.L. & McMahon, M. 1998. "Americans Abroad: Student Characteristics, Pre-departure Qualifications, and Performance Abroad" in *International Journal of Educational Management*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 57-64.
- Thomlison, T.D. 1991. *Effects of a Study Abroad Program on University Students: Toward a Predictive Theory of Intercultural Contact*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 332 629. This study assesses the impact of a study abroad program on U.S. students who studied at the University of Evansville, in Harlaxton, England for one semester during 1988-1989. The study examines behaviors, attitudes, interests, knowledge, and awareness levels, using an instrument designed by the researchers. Greatest changes are reported in their confidence in traveling abroad, personal independence, understanding of life in the host culture, desire to travel overseas, appreciation of other cultures, and the ability to cope with new and different surroundings.
- . Virginia Department of Education. 1992. *A Review of Established Guidelines and Standards for International Education Travel and Exchange Programs for Students*. A comprehensive review of existing guidelines for international education exchange programs, intended for school districts, but with data relevant to university level study abroad programs. The study raises important programming questions, including selection of students, staffing, housing, meals, student orientation, financial arrangements, and academic content. Included in the report is a list of organizations that provide guidelines for parents, students, and administrators. The report also includes the standards of the Council on Standards for International Educational Travel (CSIET) program.
- Wagner, A. & Schnitzer, K. 1991. "Programmes and Policies for Foreign Students and Study Abroad: The Search for Effective Approaches in a New Global Setting" in *Higher Education*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 275-288. A summary of issues addressed at a 1990 seminar on study abroad convened by countries in Europe, North American, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The report includes statistics on student flows, types of student

participation, the role of higher education institutions, and concerns including ethical issues and program quality.

Wallace, D.H. 1999. *Academic Study Abroad: The Long-term Impact on Alumni Careers, Volunteer Activities, World, and Personal Perspectives*. Doctoral Dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California. Many studies have assessed the short-term impact of study abroad on students, but far fewer have examined the long-term effects. This study looks at how alumni perceived their experience and its impact ten years later. Questions were asked to assess the impact of the study abroad experience on careers, volunteer activities, world, and personal perspectives. Findings indicate that participants viewed their study abroad experience in positive terms. Among other findings discussed in the study, most alumni reported that the experience influenced career selection, as well as enhanced their awareness and appreciation of other cultures and international issues.

Watzke, J. 1998. *Language Gains During Study Abroad: A Reassessment of the Predictors Study and Prospects for Future Research*. Paper presented at a meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic Languages, San Francisco, CA. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 430 392. This paper examines the effects of study abroad on second language acquisition, considers the 1993 study on "Predictors of Foreign Language Gain During Study Abroad" (Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg, 1993), and makes suggestions for further areas of study.

Wilkinson, S. 1998. "Study Abroad from the Participants' Perspective: A Challenge to Common Beliefs" in *Foreign Language Annals*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 23-39. A qualitative study of seven undergraduate students before, during, and after participation in a summer study abroad immersion program in France. It seeks to investigate how the program influenced their cultural and linguistic experiences and how their personal beliefs shaped these experiences. Findings center on three themes: 1) a strong influence of the classroom on out-of-classroom speech practices, 2) many student communication problems actually stem from cross-cultural misunderstandings rather than language problems, and 3) a tendency for students to group together when faced with unexpected problems.

Wilson, A.H. 1988. "Reentry: Toward Becoming an International Person" in *Education and Urban Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 197-210. This article presents a model of reentry and discusses issues students face upon reentry to their home culture. The goal of the reentry model is to help the student become "an international person" by providing a process through which they can reflect upon and interpret the learning gained through their experience. Strategies are provided to help students respond to the typical questions faced upon reentry.

Yager, K. 1998. "Learning Spanish in Mexico" in *Hispania*, Vol. 81, No. 4, 898-913. This study seeks to identify links between second language acquisition and informal contacts with Spanish outside the classroom. The instruments utilized included the Language Contact Profile (LCP), Cultural Characteristics Questionnaire, the Language

Questionnaire, and the Language Background Questionnaire. Findings indicate that attitudes of students relate to gains in language skills and that greater interactive contact correlates with increased language gain.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON FIELD STUDY METHODOLOGY

- Burawoy, Michael et al. 2000. *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Briggs, Charles L. 1986. *Learning How To Ask*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Clift, Elayne, Editor. 1993. *But Do They Have Field Experience?* MD: OGN Publications.
- Crane, Julia G. and Angosino, Michael V. 1992. *Field Projects in Anthropology A Student Handbook*. Waveland Press Inc., Prospect Heights, IL.
- Creswell, John W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, Editors. 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Devereux, Stephen and Hoddinott, John, Editors. 1993. *Fieldwork in Developing Countries*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
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- Emerson, Robert M., Fretz, Rachel I. and Shaw, Linda L. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
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- Gochenour, Theodore, Editor. 1993. *Beyond Experience: The Experiential Approach to Cross-Cultural Education*. Second Edition. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- Gupta, Akhil and Ferguson, James. 1997. *Anthropological Locations*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *Interviews*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lofland, John and Lofland, Lyn H. 1995. *Analyzing Social Settings*. Belmont CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

- Marcus, George E. 1998. *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Munck, Victor C. de and Sobo Elisa J., Editors. 1998. *Using Methods in the Field*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, Division of Sage.
- Rossmann, Gretchen B. and Rallis, Sharon F. 1998. *Learning in the Field*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Wolcott, Harry F. 1999. *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, Division of Sage.
- Wolcott, Harry F. 1994. *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

PUBLICATIONS ABOUT WORLD LEARNING

Case, Richard S. 1996. *A Time Apart: An Experiment in International Living*. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance Publishing Co.

Clapp, Estelle Barnes. 1966. *One Woman's India: Experiment in International Living*. DeLand, FL: Everett/Edwards, Inc.

Fantini, Alvino E., Editor. Spring 2000. *About Our Institution. SIT Occasional Papers Series*. Inaugural Issue. Brattleboro, VT: School for International Training.

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RELEVANT WEBSITE INFORMATION

The following Websites provide information about World Learning — the institution, its programs, and its activities — and about other areas relevant to its mission.

About the Federation EIL:

www.experiment.org

American Council on Education:

http://acenet.edu/programs/international/intl_research.cfm.

Hague Appeal for Peace, as it relates to youth:

www.haguepeace.org

International Education and ways to participate:

<http://exchanges.state.gov/iew2001>

Network of Educators on the Americas (NECA):

www.teachingforchange.org

NGO Directory, and other resources for NGOs:

www.un.org/MoreInfo/ngolink/welcome.htm

Organizational Members of the Federation EIL:

www.experiment.org/contacting.htm

SIT Occasional Papers Series:

www.sit.edu/publications

SIT Study Abroad:

www.sit.edu/study_abroad/

United Nations “International Year for the Culture of Peace” in 2000:

www.unesco.org/manifesto2000

World Learning:

www.worldlearning.org

ISSUES OF THE SIT OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Spring 2000. Inaugural Issue. *About Our Institution*

Spring 2001. Issue Number 2. *NGOs in Development*

Winter 2002. Issue Number 3. *Study Abroad: Student Essays and Papers*

“You must be the change that you wish to see in the world.”

Mahatma Gandhi